The Forum

NOVEMBER, 1900.

WHY THE REPUBLICANS SHOULD BE ENDORSED.

"THE future is now our field; let us look to it; it opens with glorious possibilities, and invites the party of ideas to enter and possess it."[1]

The battle is on. The issues of the campaign have been defined. The respective forces are being organized. The leaders have been chosen. From all parts of the country the rumble and roar of the combat are heard. All things indicate a great and decisive contest in November. The result may shape the course of public events in this country for a century to come; it may bring great material progress or severe disasters; it may increase our prestige as a world power or it may restrict the sphere of our activities.

To gain an adequate conception of the position of the Republican party in this campaign, and of its cardinal principles, it will be well to look at its record during a half century of great progress and development — a period that is rich in great achievements, and which has given us a foremost position among the powers of the world. Attention is invited to the National platforms adopted by the Republican party since its organization in 1856 — especially to the course of the Republican party in the administration of the Government; and to a careful comparison of its platforms and course of action with the platforms and record of the Democratic party. Such comparisons will show (1) the foundation of the Republican faith and the fundamental principles as developed in administrative action during

[1] Major Wm. McKinley at Dayton, Ohio, October 18, 1887.

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that long period of time; (2) that whereas our party has stood for nearly a half century upon the great principles which gave it birth, the Democratic party has always advocated a line of policy taken from the achievements of its opposition; has pursued a course of opposition, and has regulated its platforms solely by the necessities of a given election.

By reference to its National platforms for a half century, it will be seen that the Republican party has been committed to these great principles: (1) the preservation of the Union, the abolition of slavery — an element, during its existence, of incessant discord and of danger to our country; (2) the rigid maintenance of the public credit; (3) the protection of American industry as shown in every platform since the foundation of the party; (4) the establishment and maintenance of a safe, sound, and conservative financial system; (5) the development of natural resources through judicious public improvements; (6) the rescue of oppressed peoples in the islands of the sea. Thus we observe that the party has sturdily adhered to the great principles that called it into existence and have guided its destinies; and its appeal to the people at every National election has been based upon the merits of its work, its policies, and its principles.

The Democrats, on the other hand, pitching their tents in the camps vacated by the advancing column of Republicanism, have adjusted their platforms to principles already established by the Republican party. They have pursued a shifting, evasive, and utterly inconsistent policy — a policy of expediency to meet the demands of the solid South. Their policy has been largely sectional, and when entrusted with power their work has been adjusted accordingly.

We now come to the position of the Republican party in the pending campaign. At this writing, the candidates of all parties have been nominated; the notification speeches have been delivered; the letters of acceptance have been given to the public; the issues of the campaign have been made up, and the country is now ringing with the discussion of them. The Republican party in National Convention at Philadelphia, June, 1900, in its platform made the following declaration:

"We endorse the administration of President William McKinley. Its acts have been established in wisdom and patriotism, and at home and abroad it has distinctly elevated and extended the influence of the American Nation. Walking untried paths and facing unforeseen responsibilities, President McKinley has been in every situation a true American patriot and upright statesman, clear in vision, strong in judgment, firm in action; always inspiring and deserving the confidence of his countrymen."

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This is a strong and unqualified endorsement of President McKinley and his administration. Let us subject it to the test of practical experience — to the results attained.

A more serious and distressing situation than that which confronted the President at the very threshold of office can scarcely be imagined. The condition of the country during the four years immediately preceding his administration severely tested the patience as well as the patriotism of the people. It was a time of great distress, of stagnation in every sphere of activity. Extreme poverty and suffering overspread the land; confidence had forsaken our people; capital was lurking in secret places; industry was crippled; mills were idle; mines were closed; railroads were dormant; agriculture was prostrated; all avenues of trade and commerce were choked with the wreckage of our fallen industries; activity was paralyzed. But this was not all. From Cuba came an imploring cry for help; for quick, energetic, effective help in the name of God and humanity. And there came from Hawaii an appeal for annexation, for protection by our republic.

Firm and undismayed by this grave situation, President McKinley assumed the great burden. He at once summoned the Congress of the people to his aid in this dire emergency. Looking at the restoration of our prostrated industries, he commended to Congress the revision of our tariff laws; and he advised that the new duties be so levied as to "revive and increase manufactures." With remarkable unanimity and promptness Congress addressed itself to this great work; and in the short period of four months, after mature and careful deliberation, on the 24th day of July, 1897, was passed and approved the Dingley Bill, perhaps the most comprehensive and equitable tariff law ever written in our statute books. This law quickly imparted a powerful energy to every branch of industry, trade, and commerce; and marvellous results quickly followed the restoration to normal conditions of healthful activity. Under the provisions of the Dingley law manufactures have revived and increased; agriculture has been relieved and greatly benefited; our foreign and domestic commerce has grown to a wonderful extent; mining and building industries have been greatly stimulated; labor has been rewarded with liberal wages and abundance of work. To-day, work is seeking the laborer, and enforced idleness is happily a past condition.

Under the operation of the Wilson Act, from September 1, 1894,

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to July 24, 1897 — a period of thirty-five months — there was a total deficit of $105,180,701. This deplorable state of the revenue was largely responsible for the lack of confidence which prolonged the hard times following the panic of 1893.

Under the operation of the Dingley tariff, ample revenues have been provided. During the period of thirty-five months from July 24, 1897, to July 1, 1900, the receipts of the Government from all sources, exclusive of Pacific Railroad items, were $1,370,534,088. Deducting from these receipts the Treasury Department's estimate of collections under the War Revenue Act, amounting to $221,500,000, there were net ordinary receipts of $1,149,034,088. The expenditures for the same period aggregated $1,486,099,026, and deducting the Treasury Department's estimate of war expenditures of $395,000,000, the net expenditures for the period stand at $1,091,099,026; leaving for the thirty-five months' operation of the Dingley law an excess of receipts over net expenditures of $57,935,062.

Comparing the deficit of $108,003,243, under the Wilson law, with a surplus of $57,935,062, under the Dingley act, with reference to the production of domestic manufacturers, we find that in the fiscal year of 1896 the imports for consumption of manufactured articles were $328,937,328, and in the fiscal year of 1897 which elapsed prior to the enactment of the Dingley law, they were $323,324,920. In the fiscal years 1898 and 1899 they averaged about $240,000,000 per year; being $227,467,249 in 1898, and $259,801,751 in 1899. Thus, in manufactured articles the reduction in importations immediately following the enactment of the Dingley law has averaged $75,000,000 per annum, while the amounts consumed by the home markets have greatly increased, as is shown by the large increase in the importation of raw material. The imports of raw materials for domestic industries in the three fiscal years 1895, 1896, and 1897 averaged less than $200,000,000 annually, while in the calendar year 1899 the imports of this class amounted to $267,493,950, an increase of nearly $70,000,000 over the average for the three years under a low tariff, in which many of these articles, as wool, were on the free list. Looking at the great revival in our agricultural industry, we find that the exportation of farm products in the fiscal year of 1899 was $100,000,000 greater than in the fiscal year of 1897; and in 1898 it was $200,000,000 above that of 1897.

In the mining industries we find very gratifying results under the stimulus of the Dingley law. For 1899, our coal production exceeded

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200,000,000 tons as against 179,000,000 in 1897, and 171,000,000 in 1896. The pig iron production in 1899 was 13,620,703 tons, against 9,652,680 tons in 1897, and 8,623,127 tons in 1896. In the production of both pig iron and coal, the United States now stands at the head of the producers of the world. Thus we observe that the Dingley law has proved itself the key-stone of the magnificent arch of our prosperity.

Turning to that twin agent of prosperity, the Currency law, a crowning achievement of President McKinley's administration, we observe results no less grand. That Act, if fairly and properly administered, will protect the sanctity of public and private contracts; uphold the exalted credit of the nation; insure a continuance of confidence at home and abroad; and produce uniformity, equity, and justice in the administration of fiscal affairs. It will protect the gold reserve, and remove the intermittent evil of the "endless chain"; it will expand the agencies of banking and exchange, so essential to prosperity, and give a mighty prestige to the credit of our country, second to none in the world. It will settle the disturbing question of a monetary standard, by committing this country squarely and unequivocally, by force of a clean-cut and emphatic statutory enactment, to the gold standard — the foundation of commercial fellowship with the great nations of the earth.

Now as to results. Prior to the enactment of the Currency law the call for a war loan of $200,000,000 brought forth subscriptions in thirty-one days of almost seven times the required loan. Perhaps the most notable feature of the Currency law is that which relates to the refunding of the national debt. The five per cents of 1904, the four per cents of 1907, and the three per cents of 1908 — the principal of which aggregates $839,146,400 — are authorized to be refunded into two per cent bonds, payable at the pleasure of the United States after thirty years from the date of their issue, and payable, principal and interest, in gold coin of the present standard value. The act contains a provision that the new two per cent bonds, to be issued in exchange for the old "threes," "fours," and "fives," shall not be issued at less than par. The Secretary of the Treasury was authorized to conduct refunding operations so that the old "threes," "fours," and "fives" should be received in exchange for the two per cents on a basis of two and a quarter per cent. By May 1, 1900, almost one-third of the outstanding "threes," "fours," and "fives" had been converted into two per cents of the new issue,

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thus practically securing the success of the refunding plan. No other nation can boast of such an achievement as the exchange of high-rate interest bonds for bonds bearing two per cent. While British consols at two and three-quarters per cent were selling two points below par, the United States was able to float a two per cent at par.

Such facts speak volumes for the present financial strength of the United States, and for the management of our financial affairs by a Republican administration. Moreover, at the very time our Government was effecting this remarkable refunding transaction, the German Imperial three per cents, which were at one time close to par, had fallen to a figure approximating eighty-five per cent. The refunding of the old bonds for the new "twos" has made a net saving to the Government, on the bonds already refunded, of more than $8,400,000 in annual interest charges.

Referring to the resumption of specie payment, the National platform of the Republican party in 1880 recited that after meeting the expenses of the Government and the interest on the public debt, without resorting to loans, it had

"disbursed annually more than $30,000,000 for pensions; has paid $880,000,000 of the public debt, and, by refunding the balance at lower rates, has reduced the annual interest-charge from nearly $150,000,000 to less than $89,000,000. . . . All the industries of the country have revived, labor is in demand, wages have increased, and throughout the entire country there is evidence of a coming prosperity greater than we have ever enjoyed."

It furthermore declared:

"It [the Republican administration] has raised the value of our paper currency from 38 per cent to the par of gold; it has restored, upon a solid basis, payment in coin of all national obligations, and has given us a currency absolutely good and equal in every part of our extended country; it has lifted the credit of the nation from a point where 6 per cent bonds sold at 86 to that where 4 per cent bonds are eagerly sought at a premium."

Republican management reduced the interest-bearing debt from $2,221,311,918 to $585,037,100 in 1893, and the per capita interest rate from $4.29 to 34 cents in the same year. Democratic rule increased the interest-bearing debt to $635,000,000 in 1894, to $716,000,000 in 1895, and to $847,000,000 in 1896; and the per capita interest rate from 34 cents in 1893 to 48 cents in 1896, the annual interest charges having increased from $22,894,194 in 1893 to $34,387,265 in 1896.

Thus does Republican history repeat itself. The past and present record of the Republican party, in respect to the payment of public debts and the increase of public credit, is in sharp contrast

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with the sale of bonds to the amount of $262,000,000, under President Cleveland, to meet the expenses of the Government.

In matters relating to the currency, the attitude of the Republican party in 1896 has been fully justified by subsequent events. Since the campaign of 1896, the world's production of gold has been as follows: In 1897, $238,812,000; in 1898, $287,428,000; in 1899, $315,000,000 — a total of $841,240,000 in three years.

The gold reserve in the Treasury has been increased from an optional $100,000,000, under the old law, to $150,000,000 required under the Currency Reform Act; thus strengthening the wall of defence about the public credit. In 1892 the per capita circulation of money was $24.44, but fell to $21.10 by 1896. Under the protective tariff and the gold standard this had increased to $26.50 on July 1, 1900 — an increase of 25 per cent of the total money in circulation, and of 64 per cent in the gold and gold certificates; the amount of the latter being on July 1, 1896, the date of Mr. Bryan's first nomination, $497,000,000, and on July 1, 1900, $815,474,460, while the total money in circulation on July 1, 1896, was $1,506,434,966, and on July 1, 1900, $2,062,425,496.

Our commerce for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1900, was the largest in our history — the total imports amounting to $849,714,670; total exports, $1,394,186,371; the total foreign trade aggregating $2,243,901,041, as against $1,662,331,612 for 1896, with an excess of exports over imports during the past year of $544,471,701, as against only $102,882,264 in 1896.

Pages of figures, compiled from trustworthy sources, could be furnished showing amazing results in the improved conditions in every branch of industry, trade, or commerce, under a Republican administration; in the decrease of business failures and in decreased liabilities, as compared with the previous administration; in the increase of bank clearances and in savings banks deposits; in the number of mortgages discharged; in railway traffic and earnings; in improvement in agricultural and horticultural industries; in improved conditions which have stimulated the production of abundant crops of all kinds and in the opening up of a ready market for them at good prices; in the increase of manufactures and in the consumption of commodities; in the expansion of every sphere of activity; in the increases of wages and in the steady employment for American workmen; and, finally, in the conditions existing in our country at this time, as compared with conditions which prevailed during the three years immedi-

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ately preceding the inauguration of President McKinley. All these are the natural results of the principle of protection and of sound money embodied in the recent laws of Congress, and administered by a Republican President.

Driven from every position they ever assumed since the foundation of the Republican party, the Democrats now seek to hoodwink the American people by the false cry of imperialism, in which, as they define it, no one in this country believes. They also inveigh against trusts, the regulation of which has never been attempted except by the Republican party.

Space permits only a reference to other great achievements of the Republican administration since March 4, 1897. We point with just pride to the settlement of the Union Pacific Railroad indebtedness, by which the Government received $124,421,670.95 out of about $130,000,000 due it from the road; to the raising and equipping of an army of over 270,000 men; to the masterly management of the navy, and the conclusion of the war with Spain in 100 days; to the creation of an unequalled transport service; to the liberation of Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines, and the success which has attended the efforts to place these islands under the influence of our free institutions; to the wise and generous legislation enacted for Hawaii and Puerto Rico; to the firm maintenance of our authority in the Philippines, in the face of a determined revolt, fostered and kept alive at home and abroad; to the appointment of commissions, composed of men of eminent qualifications, to investigate the condition of the Philippine Islands, and formulate a plan of autonomy for them; to the acquisition of valuable coaling stations and harbors to facilitate commerce and afford additional precautions for public safety; to the settlement of perplexing difficulties in the Samoan Islands; to the humane acts which extended the good offices of this Government to secure peace between Great Britain and the Boers, despite the rejection of the offer by the former; to the firm demands made upon Turkey for redress of wrongs to our Christian missions in Armenia.

We also point to the notable triumphs of diplomacy which secured a much desired modification of the conditions attending the construction of an isthmian canal, through the Hay-Pauncefote treaty, which has removed serious obstacles to the construction and control of such a waterway; to the great achievement which has secured to us a continuance of the privilege of free and uninterrupted trade with China,

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under the policy known as the "open door"; to the firm attitude assumed by our Government in respect to the insurrection in China, which served to uphold the dignity and honor of the nation, protect its citizens and material interests, yet without entangling alliances; to the strong, yet dignified and high-minded, policy which has increased the power and prestige of our Government at home and abroad, without disturbing our cordial relations with other nations. Finally, the party commends to public approval and confidence the work of Congress during the past four years, and of the Departments, all of which has been attended with beneficent results to the country at large, and has been conducive to peace and to a most generous measure of uniform and general prosperity.

The efforts of the Democratic party to drag the pension question into politics is one phase of this campaign. That the Democratic party has been the relentless enemy of the ex-Union soldier, and that it has stubbornly fought every effort to enact liberal pension laws, are facts revealed by a careful examination of the "Congressional Record" on fourteen important pension measures introduced since the Civil War, and voted on by Congress:

Republicans for the bills.....1,068	Democrats for the bills.....417
Republicans against the bills.....None	Democrats against the bills.....648

A Democrat President, during his two administrations, vetoed 524 pension bills. Presidents Lincoln, Hayes, Garfield, Arthur, Harrison, and McKinley never refused their signature to a single pension bill. President Grant withheld his signature only five times during his administration. The last Democratic administration instituted a Board of Revision to revise the allowance of pensions under President Harrison's administration. During the two years of the existence of this Board, 8,694 pensioners were dropped from the rolls, and 23,702 pensions were reduced. A large proportion of the pensioners have been restored to the rolls, under the administration of President McKinley. The records show the action of the Republican party on all pension legislation to have been along most generous lines.

The Democrats, evading the real issues of the campaign, have raised the false cry of imperialism, of militarism, and of trusts as "paramount" issues. The position of the two parties in relation to the Philippines is succinctly stated in the following quotations:

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PRESIDENT MCKINLEY TO THE NOTIFICATION COMMITTEE AT CANTON, JULY 11.

"The Philippines are ours, and American authority must be supreme throughout the archipelago. There will be amnesty broad and liberal, but no abatement of our rights, no abandonment of our duty. There must be no scuttle policy."

MR. BRYAN TO THE NOTIFICATION COMMITTEE, AT INDIANAPOLIS, AUGUST 8.

"If elected, I shall convene Congress in extraordinary session as soon as inaugurated, and recommend an immediate declaration of the nation's purpose, first, to establish a stable form of government in the Philippine Islands; second, to give independence to the Filipinos; third, to protect the Filipinos from outside interference while they work out their own destiny."

Here the issue is made up, as it were, on an agreed statement of fact. Both candidates agree that the Philippines are ours. President McKinley speaks out boldly and manfully, while Mr. Bryan acquiesces. The United States invaded the Philippines, in accordance with the law of nations, while they were under the jurisdiction of a country with which we were at war, and hence by authority of the Constitution of the United States. By conquest we gained possession of them; and by the treaty of Paris, which was ratified by a Republican Senate, aided by Democrat and Populist members thereof, persuaded by Mr. Bryan himself, we acquired sovereignty over them from the only power having any claim whatever to them. They are ours; and now the political question arises, "How shall we govern them?"

Article IV, Section 3, of the Constitution provides: "That Congress shall have the power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property of the United States," so that the question of a form of government for our acquisitions is a prerogative of Congress, and will be a proper subject for discussion by that body when the acrimony of the campaign shall have been forgotten.

It is assumed that President McKinley has announced the policy that will be pursued by the Republicans in Congress, and that Mr. Bryan has announced the policy of the Democratic party. The question with the voter is, therefore, Which of the two presidential candidates can best be trusted with the liberties and well-being of the Filipinos?

On the one hand, President McKinley belongs to the Republican party, which came into existence as the champion of liberty, and even engaged the South in a deadly war to liberate 4,000,000 bondmen. President McKinley was born in the Republican party, and

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was educated to believe that every human being, without regard to the color of his skin, was and is entitled to liberty; while on the other hand Mr. Bryan belongs to a party that was tenacious in its advocacy of the dogma that man could hold property in man; and even to this day, by the act of the Democratic party in the States of Louisiana, Mississippi, and North Carolina, it is plainly apparent that they believe in the doctrine of "taxation without representation." By the plain provision of the constitutions of these States, thousands of taxpayers are disfranchised, and Mr. Bryan endorses this by his silence, while making an outcry against imperialism.

Our duty in regard to the maintenance of peace, order, and security of life and property, and in regard to the establishment of a stable government in the Philippines, is the same as it is in respect to Cuba and Puerto Rico. But Cuba came to us as a trust. We undertook to give liberty to the Cubans. With the Filipinos came other responsibilities no less grave. We have been compelled to deal with them according to the peculiar circumstances in the case. Rebellion in the Philippines against our rightful authority created a state of affairs different from that of Cuba and Puerto Rico, and therefore a different policy must be pursued. We were compelled to take military instead of civil possession of the islands.

Our sovereignty over the Philippines is absolute; our title to the islands is without a flaw; our supremacy is acknowledged by the world. This situation imposes upon us corresponding legal and moral obligations to govern the islands in accordance with the modes of civilized nations. We cannot cast them adrift to become a firebrand among nations or to complicate the delicate situation in the Orient. To attempt such a course might render us liable to other nations for any acts of aggression toward their citizens by the Filipinos; might embroil us in endless complications, and might subject us to the well-deserved censure and reproach of all nations of the earth. Our withdrawal from the islands would produce conditions that would shock the civilized world, and would speedily invoke the intervention of other nations upon the same principle that called forth our intervention in behalf of Cuba, to remove "intolerable conditions." We cannot withdraw from the Philippines without some understanding with other nations. A protectorate over the islands is not to be thought of for a moment. The Monroe doctrine is not globe-encircling, and in a senseless attempt to extend it to the Eastern hemisphere we should destroy it. To maintain a protectorate over the islands would be a

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greater task than to govern them. We must not set up a government which is to be managed by others, but at the same time requires our land and naval forces to uphold it. We must be masters of the situation or abandon it. There is no middle ground. It is too late to debate the question of retaining these islands.

But there is another aspect of the Philippine question — the commercial advantage of the islands, as a stepping-stone to the extension of our trade in the Orient. That is a matter of prime interest to us at this time, when new avenues of employment and new spheres of activity are being eagerly sought. With the Philippines as a great entrepot for American products, the United States will be able to command the trade of the Orient as Great Britain has commanded it from Hong Kong and Singapore, and with much greater ease, not only on account of our greater facilities for producing articles desired, but also from the direct water communication which we shall have with those islands when the isthmian canal is completed. With Manila as a distributing centre, we shall be within easy reach of the countries in the Orient which contain half the population of the earth, and have a total annual commerce of more than $2,000,000,000. The imports of these countries amount to $1,200,000,000 annually, or an average of $100,000,000 per month, of which this country supplies only about six per cent. These peoples want our goods; they know they can do better in trading with us than with other countries. They want American flour, provisions, and other commodities; and under favorable conditions of exchange our goods will take the place of the products of other countries.

We have increased our exports to Japan from $5,275,501 in 1889 to $29,087,642 in the fiscal year 1900; to China, from $3,254,034 in 1899 to $15,258,748 in 1900; to Hong Kong, from $3,864,224 in 1899 to $8,484,988 in 1900; to British Australasia, from $21,534,847 in 1899 to $64,913,984 in 1900; to all Asia, from $21,534,847 in 1899 to $64,913,984 in 1900; and to all Oceanica, from $16,081,021 in 1899 to $43,390,927 in 1900. Of this vast amount required by great and growing countries grouped about within easy access of the Philippines, we are now supplying but about six per cent, and it is obvious that, with Manila and other ports of the Philippines as entrepots, we should soon be able to effect a vast increase of our trade in these rich and fruitful regions.

Our trade with the islands which have been brought into closer relations with our Government during the past few years shows a

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strong and healthy increase. We exported to Puerto Rico in 1896 goods valued at $1,955,814, and in 1900 at $4,640,031; our exports to Cuba were $7,296,613 in 1896, and $26,513,613 in 1900; to the Hawaiian Islands, $4,184,351 in 1896, and $13,509,138 in 1900; to the Philippines, $69,459 in 1897, and $2,640,449 in 1900.

This opportunity to expand the sphere of our industrial and commercial activity and trade should appeal with special force to every person who is interested in the development of the manufacturing, mining, or agricultural resources of America. The right use of this opportunity will bring rich returns to every person directly or indirectly engaged in production in this country.

"Militarism" as a political issue in this campaign presents a ridiculous spectacle. It is the creature of a disordered imagination intended to frighten timid people. It will not be considered seriously. Every man mustered into the military or naval service during the late war, or to suppress the insurrection in the Philippines, voluntarily offered his services, and many thousands more stood ready to volunteer. There were no drafts; there was no coercion. The recruiting offices were crowded to the doors, turning away a large number of eager applicants for enlistment. The mighty, spontaneous outburst of patriotism, anxious to swell the ranks of volunteers for service in rebuking the insult to our flag in the Philippines, is the best refutation of the charge that the country is drifting toward "militarism."

The war with Spain required an increase of the army from its peace basis of 27,000, and the enlistment of a large number of volunteers was authorized by Congress. But on the conclusion of peace, April 11, 1899, the army, pursuant to law, was reduced again to 27,000 men. But the exigencies in the Philippines demanded a temporary increase of the army; and to meet this imperative demand the Senate Committee on Military Affairs unanimously reported a bill to meet and provide for such emergency, and the report was supported by all the parties. Under this bill authority was conferred on the President to recruit temporarily the regular army of 65,000 men, and in addition 35,000 volunteers. The bill expressly provided that such increase of the army to 100,000 men for temporary purposes was to be made by temporary enlistments for service until July 1, 1901, only.

This bill was fully debated in the Senate, and it was emphatically declared that the main purpose of the increase was to confer

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upon the President authority, and the necessary forces, to put down an armed insurrection against our sovereignty in the Philippines. Democrats and Republicans alike supported the bill and fully understood its purpose. It passed the Senate by a vote of 55 to 13, and was supported by all the leading Democrats, by Senator Teller, Senator Stewart, Senator Allen, and all the Populists except one. It was passed by the votes of three-fourths of the Senate. In the House of Representatives it was debated, its provisions were fully understood, and it was supported alike by all parties. It passed that body by a vote of 203 to 32. The law as thus enacted empowered the President in clear and unmistakable terms not only to equip an army of 100,000 men, but *directed him to employ such force to put down the insurrection in the Philippines.* The Constitution requires the President to execute the laws, and he is bound by oath to do so in the Philippines as much as he would be in the case of an insurrection in Texas. Therefore this duty was imposed upon him by a non-partisan vote, an expression of the confidence of the American people in their Chief Executive.

Under the terms of the act which authorized this temporary increase, the army will be reduced on July 1, 1901, to its original basis of less than 30,000 men. Thus, the attempt to elevate "militarism" to the position of a great political issue is absurd. That a much larger army would be necessary to establish and maintain a protectorate over the Philippines, as proposed by Mr. Bryan, cannot be doubted.

As Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions of the Republican National Convention of 1888, Major McKinley drafted the anti-trust plank of the Republican platform. As President he recommended to Congress, in December, 1899, the enactment of legislation to restrain or control trusts. A similar recommendation was sent to Congress by President Harrison in 1889.

As an evidence of the sincere purpose of the Republican party to suppress monopolies, or to remove obstacles to the broad and natural expansion of legitimate enterprises, attention is called to the fact that the only effective anti-trust legislation on our statute books now is the work of Republican statesmen. The Inter-State Commerce Act, which became a law in 1887, was framed and carried through Congress by a distinguished Republican statesman, Senator Shelby M. Cullom, of Illinois. Another eminent statesman of our party, Senator John Sherman, of Ohio, was the author of the Sherman

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Anti-Trust Act of 1890. Under that act the Supreme Court of the United States has dissolved two powerful railway combinations, alleged to be trusts, in the case of the United States vs. the Trans-Missouri Freight Association, and in the Joint Traffic case. It has also dissolved several combinations engaged in the manufacture, sale, or transportation of commodities, as in the case of the Addystone Pipe and Steel Company, and in that of the Chesapeake and Ohio Fuel Company.

But in the case of the United States *vs.* E. C. Knight, an effort by the Government to suppress the Sugar Trust, under the Sherman Anti-Trust Law, the Supreme Court held that the law contemplated only combinations of monopolies in restraint of trade and commerce between the several States or with foreign nations, and did not extend to the regulation of subjects of manufacture, commerce, business or trade, unless the same directly affected inter-State commerce; holding that such matters came under the exclusive jurisdiction of the States where such operations were conducted, in the exercise of police powers of the State. The bill filed by the Government to dissolve the Sugar Trust as an instrument employed in restraint of trade or commerce was dismissed by the Court for want of jurisdiction in the subject matter of the action — the refining of sugar by the defendants. This case was reaffirmed in the subsequent case of Hopkins *vs.* The United States. These cases settled definitely and authoritatively an important point, namely, that Congress has no power under the Constitution to regulate or control enterprises which do not amount to a restraint of, or interference with, "inter-State commerce," as defined by that Court. Consequently, the power of Congress or of the Courts to deal with the trusts has been exhausted without attaining all the results demanded by the people; and the only method by which such relief can be afforded is by an amendment to the Constitution expressly conferring upon Congress authority to regulate or suppress such combinations.

Such is the position of the Republican party in respect tc the subject of trusts, and it stands by its record.

The Courts having held the Sherman Anti-Trust Law to be inadequate, the Republican party — in pursuance of the course established by Congress in the adoption of the thirteenth amendment, following the abolition of slavery, an institution that had menaced the peace and perpetuity of the republic from its birth, and which was also protected by the Constitution — introduced in Congress a resolution

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providing for an amendment to the Constitution having for its object the regulation and control of trusts. The Democrats opposed this amendment, as they did the abolition of slavery and the adoption of the thirteenth amendment. The resolution, not receiving a two-thirds vote, failed to pass, every Democrat in the House except five voting against it, while practically every Republican in the House voted for it.

In his address before the Trust Conference at Chicago, Ill., September 16, 1899, Mr. Bryan declared that Congress ought to pass a law to regulate trusts. He said: "If it is unconstitutional, and so declared by the Supreme Court, I am in favor of an amendment to the Constitution that will give to Congress power to destroy every trust in the country."

The Supreme Court has decided in the Knight case, before referred to, that the Sherman Act, which had undoubtedly exhausted the power granted to Congress by the Constitution to regulate inter-State and international commerce, is applicable only to a combination, business, or occupation, which directly affects "inter-State commerce." This virtually amounts to a decision that the Sherman Act, as applied to combinations which do not directly affect inter-State commerce, is impotent. Guided by this decision, we seek the only mode of relief left — an amendment to the Constitution.

Space in this paper has been devoted to the questions of imperialism, militarism, and trusts, not because they are in issue, but because they are being used by our opponents to hide the real issues, which are precisely the same as in 1896, namely, Protection and Sound Money *vs.* Free Trade and Free Silver. In respect to these, both parties stand precisely where they stood four years ago, and are controlled by the same motives.

President McKinley, in response to the Notification Committee, at Canton, Ohio, July 12, 1900, sounded the keynote of the campaign in these terse sentences:

"A tariff which protects American labor and industry and provides ample revenue has been written in public law. We have lower interest and higher wages, more money and fewer mortgages; the world's markets have been opened to American products, which go now where they never have gone before; we have passed from the bond-issuing to the bond-buying nation; from a nation of borrowers to a nation of lenders; from deficiencies in revenue to a surplus; from fear to confidence; from enforced idleness to profitable employment; the public faith has been upheld, and public order has been maintained; we have prosperity at home and prestige abroad."

Again he said:

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"Unfortunately, the threat of 1896 has just been renewed by the allied parties without abatement or modification: The gold bill has been denounced and its repeal demanded; the menace of 16 to 1, therefore, still hangs over us with its dire consequences to credit and confidence, to business and industry."

These warning words cannot be too strongly emphasized. That the very existence of our currency and industrial systems is threatened by the Kansas City platform is most apparent. The undermining of these would effect the complete destruction of our prosperity. It would create a panic that would be followed by an era of hard times productive of greater distress among our people than that of the years from 1893 to 1897.

It is contended, however, that the panic of 1893, with the resulting calamities, was due not to the fear of free trade, but to the Sherman Silver Purchase Law. If that law, which promised in express terms to maintain the parity between gold and silver, was productive of any part of that great panic and long period of severe industrial depression, what may we not expect from laws which shall permit the free and unlimited coinage of silver, with no attempt whatever to regulate or control the parity between silver and gold, and which will virtually establish free trade?

In 1892, Governor McKinley warned the country against the dangers of free trade; and, because his warning was not heeded, serious consequences followed. He again warned the country in 1896 of the dangers of free silver, and pointed out the course by which the reign of disaster might be terminated. His advice was accepted. A protective tariff law was passed, and the gold standard was adopted. In consequence, public credit was maintained, confidence was restored, and there followed an era of unparalleled prosperity.

We repeat the warning: the integrity and honor of the nation are at stake in this election. It is not imperialism, but repudiation, which regulates the course, sharpens the cupidity, and inflames the hope of our opponents. Protection and sound money are imperilled. Shall we permit them to be undermined and destroyed? If Mr. Bryan is permitted to call an extraordinary session of Congress on the fourth day of next March, he will commend to consideration not one subject, but three: The repeal of the currency law, or the enactment of a law authorizing the free and unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1; the repeal of the Dingley tariff law; and measures looking to the sacrifice of our rights in the Philippines. The result would be disastrous to our credit. It would produce

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doubt and uncertainty, disarrange values, impair vested rights, and work general havoc in all industrial and business circles. Then prosperity would be again transferred to foreign countries, and our people would again sit in sackcloth and ashes — in the valley of desolation and despair.

The Republican party is the party of progress. It has executed its great trust with distinguished fidelity and success. It has rehabilitated industries and restored prosperity through protection and sound money. The leading or paramount issues of this campaign are protection and sound money, and all other so-called issues are immaterial. Republican success is necessary to preserve these great principles and to uphold the national honor. The destruction of the cardinal principles of prosperity would be attended with great disaster to the country, would impede progress, and would deprive the people of the blessings which they have freely enjoyed since the restoration of the Republican party to power in 1897. Such is our position, and upon it we submit our case to the people, confident of success.

CHARLES DICK.

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REASONS FOR DEMOCRATIC SUCCESS.

THE Democratic party hopes for success in the election of 1900. This hope is based upon two premises: (1) the justice of its cause, and (2) the intelligent patriotism of the American electorate.

And first, of the cause. What is it? Briefly, it is the cause of the people. Since the party was born, a century and more ago, it has never in its principles and aims so completely as now realized the idea that suggested its name. Its purpose is to restore the "rule of the people" in a republic wherein the welfare of the people is the avowed object of the government, and wherein responsibility to the popular judgment is the origin of authority and the safeguard of liberty, but where confederated special interests have gradually obtained preponderant power, manipulating political machinery, directing legislation, and threatening a subtle but fundamental and dangerous change in the very structure of our institutions. The pending contest is only another phase of the world-old familiar struggle between the many and the few which has made the history of free governments in every age.

The institutions of the United States were the first to be founded upon the proposition of the political equality of men and upon the substitution of consent for force as the basis and sanction of authority. The epochal contests of our political history have been waged for the preservation or the restoration of these great characteristic principles in the practical conduct of government. Such was the memorable campaign of 1800 wherein Jefferson represented the original democratic idea against the semi-monarchic tendencies of Hamilton and his school. Such was the movement that led to the organization and success of the Republican party nearly half a century ago. The founders of that party perfectly understood the nature of the crisis, and proclaimed their object to be the return of the country to the ideas and practices of its founders. In the preamble of the platform adopted by the first Republican national convention, which met at Philadelphia in June, 1856, an appeal was made "to the people of the United States, without regard to past political differences or divisions, who are

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. . . in favor . . . of restoring the action of the federal government to the principles of Washington and Jefferson."

To a mere partisan of to-day there will appear to be great difficulty in reconciling this invocation of the principles of the first Democrat by the first Republicans. Yet there is no inconsistency whatever in that fact. The Republican movement was essentially a democratical reaction. The very name of the party, indeed, suggested it; for "Republican" was the word originally employed by Jefferson to designate the organization that formed about him. The Democratic party, under the influence of power and the growth of the institution of slavery, had completely reversed its position. Its leaders formed an irresponsible oligarchy. Though the professed followers of the author of the Declaration of Independence, they expressly repudiated the fundamental doctrine of that instrument, and Douglas employed in his celebrated debates with Lincoln the very class of arguments now used by many Republicans in attempting to construe universal liberty out of that great document.

Judge Douglas declared that our Fathers, in the Declaration, "were speaking of British subjects on this continent being equal to British subjects born and residing in Great Britain"; that it "was adopted for the purpose of justifying the colonies in the eyes of the civilized world in withdrawing their connection with the mother country." Precisely in the same spirit the "New York Sun," one of the strongest champions of President McKinley's imperialistic policy, not long ago said:

"The Declaration of Independence was made to suit a particular existing condition of things. The Declaration meant simply that the colonies had become tired of the British domination, deeming it oppressive, and intended to set up a government of their own by the right of revolution."

To like effect is a recent editorial statement of the "New York Tribune":

"The Declaration of Independence was a formal notice that the inhabitants of the colonies consented no longer to British rule."

The words of Lincoln in answer to Douglas are equally applicable to these modern newspaper assertions. They seem, indeed, to have been written in anticipation of the very condition that now exists in the United States. Said he, in a speech at Springfield, Ill., June 26, 1857:

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"The assertion 'that all men are created equal' was of no practical use in effecting our separation from Great Britain; and it was placed in the Declaration, not for that, but for future use. Its authors meant it to be—as, thank God, it is now proving itself—a stumbling-block to all those who in after times might seek to turn a free people back into the hateful paths of despotism. They knew the proneness of prosperity to breed tyrants, and they meant, when such should reappear in this fair land and commence their vocation, they should find left for them at least one hard nut to crack."

It was remarkable, then, that the Democratic party, whose founder wrote the Declaration of Independence, should have been concerned in an attempt to discredit and destroy it. It is even more remarkable to-day that the Republican party, whose founder was then the defender of that ancient Democratic faith, should be now engaged in an effort to negative its authority and to repudiate its principles.

Nevertheless, it is altogether natural that such alternations in party purposes should occur. When a new political party appears, or when an old one is revived with a new impulse, its success will almost always represent the highest and noblest aspirations of the people. It is apt to be single in aim and pure in motive. But immediately the selfish forces in society, bent on dominating the Government in their own interest, begin scheming to gain ascendancy in the party as a necessary preliminary to the control of affairs. It was in this way that the old Democratic party was gradually made over into a strong pro-slavery organization; and this is the method whereby the old Republican party has by degrees become the instrument of those very forces which it originally opposed, though their form of manifestation has changed. This danger also was recognized by the marvellous insight of Lincoln. In November, 1864, he is reported to have said:

"As a result of the war corporations have been enthroned and an era of corruption in high places will follow, and the money power of the country will endeavor to prolong its reign by working upon the prejudices of the people until all wealth is aggregated in a few hands, and the Republic is destroyed."

Party loyalty, whose tendency is to become a blind, unreasoning submission to the commands of those who succeed in getting control of the party machinery, thus investing their own schemes with the magic pass-muster of the party label, is the most potent ally of these selfish interests. The average partisan, having assisted once in a patriotic and successful movement for the salvation of the country, will thereafter continue to vote the ticket of the party that directed the movement, first insensibly ascribing to the party in the abstract all the virtues of the cause, then attributing to the individuals of its

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self-perpetuating leadership the idealized qualities of the party, and finally, as an inevitable consequence, accepting every deliverance of the party convention as an absolute standard of faith and rule of conduct. It is also a distinguishing mark of this last stage of political dependence that every party except one's own must be held to be deliberately aiming at the dishonor of the Government, every member of such other party to be either a traitor or the tool of traitors, and every policy proposed by the opposition to be a veritable inspiration of the devil. Upon no other theory can be explained, for example, the success of the leaders of the Republican party in committing that organization to such complete reversals of party profession as those witnessed in the change from bimetallism to the gold standard, and from the championship of the Declaration of Independence to its repudiation.

The foregoing reference to party spirit and the ordinary method of its action will be recognized by careful observers as substantially true. Fortunately, its application, while general, is not universal. There is ever a small minority that continues to distinguish between principle and party and to give to the former a superior allegiance. The hope of the Democratic party in this campaign is largely in this minority, in the men who are Americans before they are Republicans. Let us examine some of the considerations that will be chiefly influential with this class of voters.

First, there is the money question. It is beyond doubt that, until recently at any rate, the Republican party has been a bimetallic party. Its national platforms in 1888 and 1892 were unequivocal in their support of bimetallism; and in the campaign text-book published by the Republican National Committee in that year it was said, "Nine-tenths of the American people are bimetallists." My own opinion is that this statement was true and applied to the masses of the Republican party. The merits of the question of the standards were not generally discussed before the people during the following four years, and it is absurd to suppose that the convictions of the Republican party as a whole had undergone any sweeping change on that subject.

That this fact was well known to the men who were carefully engaged in the plan to make the Republican party the agent and instrument of the gold standard is apparent from their treatment of the question in the St. Louis platform and in the 1896 campaign. That platform pronounced in favor of the international free coinage of

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silver by pledging the party to "promote" it, but declared for the maintenance of the gold standard until an international agreement for free coinage could be secured.

This plank was manifestly designed to hold the votes of sincere bimetallists, while also assuring the gold men that the party was being pushed resolutely toward the single standard. To be sure, the transparency of the trick should have been evident to anybody, as indeed it was to a large number of Republicans who immediately denounced it and, because of it, left the organization. But, as the shrewd men who were responsible for it knew, it is usually necessary to furnish the voter only a very slight excuse for making peace with an uneasy political conscience. A definite declaration for the gold standard in that platform would have given the presidency to Mr. Bryan by an overwhelming popular vote and consequently by a large majority in the electoral college.

The uncandid language of the platform was paralleled by the insincerity of the campaign. The convenient ambiguity of "sound money" and "honest money" was adopted as an epitome of the financial plank; and Republican orators and newspapers in the East interpreted it as meaning the gold standard, in the Mississippi valley as "safe" bimetallism, and in the mountain States as free coinage.

In the face of this well-remembered situation of 1896 how refreshingly guileless is the following statement in the platform adopted by the Republican National Convention at Philadelphia in June: "We renew our allegiance to the principle of the gold standard." Now the "principle" of the gold standard was distinctly repudiated by the last preceding national platform of the party. The declaration in 1896 was for the free coinage of silver by international agreement, and only as a last resort was the gold standard accepted, and even then it was to last only until the agreement could "be secured."

Is it reasonable to believe that all of the millions of Republicans that in 1896 were bimetallists and only voted their ticket because of the promise to secure bimetallism by international agreement will vote for McKinley now upon an out-and-out gold standard platform? Doubtless the great majority of them will do so; four years of partisan compliance having subdued them to the complexion of what they work in, "like the dyer's hand." But, in my opinion, many will not do so. Mr. Bryan will receive several thousand votes in the middle and western States from men who in 1896 were kept

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"regular" by the promise of an international agreement. Their disposition will be strengthened also by recalling the numerous occurrences that accompanied the inception, progress, and result of Senator Wolcott's ill-starred International Monetary Commission, indicating that the Administration was not in sympathy with its object in Europe and actually furthered its failure.

To these Republicans rebelling against the confessed surrender to the gold standard will be added a considerable number who cannot endorse the practical destruction of the greenback by the recent gold-standard and bank-currency legislation. Abraham Lincoln, in a letter to Edmund D. Taylor, of Chicago, in December, 1864, referred to the greenback as "the greatest blessing they [the people] ever had"; and, while a very strong sentiment for the paper money of the Government obtains among Republicans, there is likewise a wide and intelligent opposition on the subject which the advocates of bank money have not sufficiently taken into account.

Big and frequent conventions of bankers loudly proclaiming their devotion to the public welfare and modestly vouching for their own and sole sufficiency to deal with the money question, but universally prescribing systems that multiply and magnify the functions of the banker as a substitute for the Government in providing currency for the people, have somehow not produced a universal opinion of either their disinterestedness or their wisdom. Scepticism on this last point, moreover, is encouraged by the verdict of students of economic science, who pronounce the existing plan, and all other plans thus far recommended by bankers' conventions in this country, to be wholly lacking in scientific principles.

Secondly, the general apprehension of the danger to our industrial system, and consequently to our social and political institutions as well, that lies in the trust monopoly will dispose many thousands of Republicans to vote against their party. In 1888 and in 1892 their national platforms had denounced the trust. In 1896 the St. Louis convention was silent on the subject. In the campaign of that year the representatives of combined capital were chiefly in evidence in the management of the Republican machinery, and the prodigious and unprecedented campaign fund at the disposition of the Republican National Committee was notoriously contributed by the trusts. When the new administration came in it was the trust-breeding State of New Jersey that furnished to the Cabinet the Attorney-General upon whom should devolve the enforcement or non-enforcement, and

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the administrative interpretation, of the laws directly and indirectly affecting the trusts.

At once began a phenomenal increase in this form of capitalistic combination, so that more trusts have been organized under the McKinley administration than in the preceding one hundred and eight years of our governmental existence. At the very end of the last session of Congress the Republican leaders introduced a proposed constitutional amendment giving Congress plenary jurisdiction over the subject and depriving the States of all power to legislate upon it whenever Congress should do so.

Several circumstances appeared to justify suspicion of the good faith of this procedure. Among them were: (1) the introduction of the amendment at so late an hour in the session as almost to insure its failure, owing to the impossibility of giving proper consideration to so important a matter; (2) the obvious improbability that the amendment could ever be adopted by the votes of the legislatures of three-fourths of the States, which by it would be practically shorn of authority in a field where there is great sensitiveness to the loss of it; (3) the exceedingly general and indefinite language of the amendment, opening it to a dangerous latitude of construction; and (4) the ease with which Congress, if under the control of a party dominated by the trusts, could give the latter full sway in the whole country, and this by enacting laws which, by the mere fact of their existence, would oust the State jurisdictions, while, either by purposed inefficiency in constructing the statutes or by administrative discretion respecting their enforcement, the national jurisdiction might be made a refuge instead of a scourge.

This suspicion seemed to derive some support also from the fact that the Republicans in both Houses overwhelmingly voted down a bill of Democratic origin amending existing law in certain particulars where either administrative experience, judicial suggestion, or the recommendation of the Inter-State Commerce Commission, had indicated the need of additional legislation.

Nor is there anything in more recent developments to give assurance that the Republican party can be depended on to control the trust-monopoly. Everybody knows that again, as in 1896, the vast majority of the trusts are actively supporting the Republican national ticket. The utterances of distinguished Republican leaders, including the Chairman of the National Committee and several United States senators, in sweeping general praise of modern business com-

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binations and in nice discrimination between good trusts and bad trusts — added to the halting and mincing language of the trust plank in the Philadelphia platform — give no grounds for hoping that the Republican party will turn upon the beneficiaries of its policies in championship of their victims. This is no place to enter upon an argument of the trust question. It is important only to observe that the American people generally are opposed to the principle of trust organization and management, and that very many Republicans regard the subject of the regulation and control of such combinations as of almost vital consequence. I have given above the chief reasons why, as it seems to me, such persons will be more likely to vote against the Republican ticket than for it.

To those, again, who, from a philosophical point of view, are disposed to regard the monopoly issue as transcendent will be added a very large contingent of men directly injured by the accomplished facts of trust management — the relatively small business man who is being either driven from his business or forced to continue it as an agent rather than as a principal; the commercial traveller whose occupation is threatened or already gone; and the workingman who by the capricious suspension or interruption of manufactures by trust magnates has been thrown into idleness.

Thirdly, it seems very certain that the most serious disaffection from the Republican ranks is to be expected on account of the gravely important issue of imperialism. It is true that it is the prevailing Republican custom to disavow all imperialistic purpose and to insist upon calling the new and revolutionary policy on which the Administration has entered "expansion." But earnest and intelligent men will not be deceived by this artifice. The meaning of "expansion" is perfectly clear: it signifies that process whereby a thing enlarges by growth, through extension of itself from within by inherent powers and natural development, remaining the same thing all the time, each increment of growth at once partaking of all the essential characteristics and attributes of the original entity.

This is the process, the natural and healthy process, which, until the present Administration, has governed every previous accession of territory to the United States. Every such accession, be it remembered, save Alaska alone, has occurred under a Democratic administration. Every acre of territory thus added has been received upon an equal footing, dedicated to ultimate Statehood in the Union, and assured of American citizenship for its inhabitants. This is a vital

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fact in this discussion. To attempt to classify the cases of Puerto Rico and the Philippines with those of Louisiana and Florida is not only unfair, it is downright dishonest.

What is imperialism? It is the method of the empire. No better definition of it has been given than in the declaration recently adopted by the liberty congress at Indianapolis, in the following resolution written, as rumor reports, by a distinguished New England lawyer and scholar:

"The struggle of men for freedom has ever been a struggle for constitutional liberty. There is no liberty if the citizen has no rights which the Legislature may not invade; if he be taxed by a Legislature in which he is not represented; or if he be not protected by a fundamental law against the arbitrary action of executive power. The policy of the President offers the inhabitant of Porto Rico, Hawaii [1] or the Philippines no prospect of American citizenship, no constitutional protection, no representation in the Congress which taxes him. This is a government of men by arbitrary power without their consent. This is imperialism."

This policy is a complete departure from our customs and traditions. Why cannot the Republican leaders frankly confess it and then argue the proposition on its merits? We have established in Puerto Rico exactly the system as that against which the men of '76 rebelled. Webster says that our fathers made the Revolution turn precisely on the point involved in the tax of three pence a pound on tea; that not the amount of the tax, but the fact of it, was the basis of complaint, the patriots refusing to acknowledge the power of Parliament to lay any imperial tax whatsoever upon the colonies so long as the latter were unrepresented in the Parliament. The fifteen per cent of the Dingley rates which we levy on imports to Puerto Rico and on her exports to us is not Republican legislation but imperial. It is exactly the same sort of government as the colonial system which our ancestors repudiated, and whose fundamental principles they condemned in the Declaration of Independence. The same system is proposed in the case of the Philippines and of all of the islands acquired from Spain. To all intents and purposes they are to be like English crown colonies. This is not a threat of imperialism; it is imperialism.

The fundamental change that this policy involves in the operation, indeed in the very nature, of our institutions must be apparent to every thoughtful person. A republic is not suited to those methods

[1] The drawer of the resolution seems to have overlooked the fact that in the case of Hawaii the existing law provides for a territorial representative in Congress.

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which are habitual and necessary in the administration of colonies and dependencies. Its procedure is too slow, too public, too cumbersome. A radical departure from all our accepted methods will be necessary if the proposed colonialism is to be adopted. This will involve a reorganization of our administrative machinery. A distinguished Republican statesman and member of the Paris Treaty Commission, in an article in the "Anglo-Saxon Review," for June, 1899, writes as follows:

"The American Government has the new territories, and will hold and govern them. A republic such as the United States has hitherto not been well adapted to that sort of work. Congress is apt to be slow, if not also changeable; and under the Constitution the method of government for territories must be prescribed by Congress. . . . No doubt executive action, in advance of Congress, might be satisfactory; but a president is apt to wait for Congress unless driven by irresistible necessities. He can only take the initiative through some form of military government. For this the War Department is not well organized. Possibly the easiest solution for the moment would be in the organization of another Department for War and Government beyond the Seas, or the development of a measurably independent bureau for such work in the present department. Whatever is done it would be unreasonable to expect unbroken success, or exemption from a learner's mistakes and discouragements.

A similar spirit of dissatisfaction with our methods and system of administration as not adapted to the kind of operation indispensable to despotic government is strikingly manifest in an editorial which appeared on August 4 in the "Army and Navy Journal," a publication which quite faithfully reflects the class opinions of the official and military circles where admiration for the English system largely prevails. Said the "Journal":

"One million two hundred thousand dollars spent in London is the price of administrative order over a colonial rule whose total budgets aggregate $1,724,354,896, or 50 per cent more than our total of federal, State, county, and village expenditure for every possible purpose for which taxes are levied. In contrast to the results of this system of executive administration, the fact is cited that the American Congress has spent an entire winter wrestling with the tariff, the taxation, the administration, and the personal rights of two little islands. The English executive is an imperial executive. The British parliament is an English legislature. To the same system we are coming by the decree of circumstances as inevitable as that of fate. If this be imperialism, make the most of it. So far as citizenship is concerned, the British empire is one, but beyond the limits of the United Kingdom the citizen lives under a rule essentially monarchical, and not restricted by the constitutional limitations of the parliament system."

To say that alterations and adaptations of the character thus indicated can take place without both a profound change in the spirit of our institutions and a reaction in kind upon our domestic administration is to deny history and reconstruct human nature. They involve

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enormous increase in the power of the President. They lead to standing armies, burdensome debts, ever-swelling pension lists, military methods, corruption, irresponsibility, and the perpetuation of party power by influences that may defy popular discontent or even the deliberate opinion of a majority of the citizenship of the country.

The foregoing considerations respecting imperialism are wholly independent of the so-called sentimental opposition to the policy of the Administration founded on our bad faith toward our Filipino allies and the inseparableness of the Constitution and the Flag; yet this opposition is exceedingly strong and will influence a great number of votes at the coming election. The entire argument against imperialism reaches both native-born citizens, whom it inspires to preserve the traditions of the Republic, and foreign-born citizens, whom it urges to avoid the costly errors of the great military powers of Europe from which the vast majority of them came.

These three leading questions of money, trusts, and imperialism will decide by far the largest proportion of the votes cast in November; and, in my opinion, the Democratic party is certain to gain immense numbers of recruits on each of them. In addition to them, however, votes will also be influenced toward the Democratic ticket by a number of minor considerations, including the following: the attitude of the respective parties on the income tax; the feeling aroused by the British war against the Boer republics; the army contract and the Cuban administration scandals; the contrast between the vacillating and uncertain character of the Republican candidate for the Presidency and the firm consistency and unaffected courage of his great opponent.

If these expectations are in any considerable degree realized, of course Bryan and Stevenson will be the next President and Vice-President of the United States. Such, in my judgment, will be the result. Quantitative predictions are of little value, because new and probably controlling issues make largely unavailable the figures of former elections. The general drift of things is unmistakably our way, and it is "in the cards" that there may be a political landslide. I expect to see the Democratic ticket successful, and should not be surprised to see it receive two-thirds of the electoral vote.

CHARLES A. TOWNE.

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CAN THERE BE A GOOD TRUST?

SENATOR James K. Jones, of Arkansas, has made reply to the charge that he is one of the important share-holders and projectors of a "trust." He admits that he owns stock in a company organized to develop and put into use the round-lap bale cotton-press. He explains that the capital, which is $7,000,000, is no greater than is required for the business it proposes to do, and that the dividend on this large capitalization will come neither from cotton producers nor cotton consumers, but will be met by a part of the savings which the new process will effect. He claims that by compressing the cotton into smaller space and by preserving it from waste, a saving of from $3 to $4 per bale is achieved; and if this is true it is evidently possible that ample dividends may be paid on the stock of his company after conferring benefits upon the public sufficient to induce it to discard the old method and use the new.

The facts being as Senator Jones states them, it is difficult to discover any flaw in his defence. But his reasoning disposes of complaints against a great many individuals other than himself, and of hostility to a great many big corporations besides his own. It refutes some popular theories concerning the accumulation of large fortunes. It assumes that a corporation is not to be condemned because it has large capital, or because it destroys the established business and renders valueless the plants of numerous small competitors, or because it dispenses with some of the labor previously employed.

It has been said a great many times that nobody can make a million dollars honestly. The possession of such a fortune is considered by a great many people to be *prima facie* and conclusive evidence that the possessor has obtained it without earning it, without giving an equivalent for it. This theory has some light shed on it by Senator Jones's statement that the new process for baling cotton will save from $3 to $4 per bale. The cotton crop of the United States is about 10,000,000 bales, and it follows that the possible saving accomplished by this invention in ten years will be not less

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than $300,000,000. The inventor and all who aided him may become millionaires many times over out of wealth heretofore lost, and yet be large benefactors of society. The service of the invention will go on indefinitely, until some superior process, to which it will probably lead, will have supplanted it, creating another set of fortunes in doing so.

The Mergenthaler type-casting machine, which in the last ten years has practically done away with ordinary type-setting, furnishes another illustration of the same kind. Fortunes have been created by it, and yet the cost of printing has been so reduced that, through it and new paper-making machinery, daily newspapers, magazines, and books have been placed on every working-man's table. Perhaps the illustration will be more impressive by anticipating a step of progress not yet made. It is said that 85 per cent of the energy in coal is lost in combustion. Now if Mr. Edison or some one else could reverse the proportion so that 85 per cent could be utilized and only 15 per cent lost, what would the invention be worth to society? What ground is there for saying that fortunes made by this class of service are obtained without the giving of an equivalent?

It is a common way of stating it to say that the maker of a great fortune has rendered great services to society and therefore has been justly entitled to the unusual reward received. But that form of statement seems to imply that an estimate has been put upon his services, an award made, and a settlement effected, by authorizing him to take so much from the public. That raises a question as to whether the award was a just one, and our entire social system is attacked from that standpoint. The truth is that there has been no award and no payment out of the previous possessions of society. If of two farmers living side by side on land of equal fertility one raises 40 bushels of corn to the acre and the other 50 bushels to the acre it cannot be claimed that an artificial social organization awards and confers the extra ten bushels; for it is apparent that society never owned it, has no claim on it, and that the more successful farmer has produced it himself.

Mr. Andrew Carnegie's career in the iron business has been parallel to that of the successful farmer. There have been other people in the iron business during all of the time he has been in it. He has made the most conspicuous success; others have been nearly as successful; others moderately successful; and others yet have graded down to a long list who have failed and lost their investments. He

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received no higher prices from the public than these competitors. He paid at least as high wages as they. Now to whom was Carnegie's exceptional success due? Was his success due to his employés, and was the failure of his competitors due to their employés? Is a day laborer for Mr. Carnegie to be credited with greater productive powers than a day laborer for his competitors? Or did Mr. Carnegie obtain his unusual rewards neither from his customers nor from his employés, but by the creation of wealth which but for him would not have existed? If the latter theory is correct, what he has belongs to him by a title that cannot be disputed; and no one is the worse off for his having it. This is plainly the conclusion to which Senator Jones points. His view is calculated to dissipate the jealousy of success which is natural when all business is considered as a great game in which some lose what others make. That scalping and swindling exist is, of course, true; but the purpose of legitimate industry and trade is to create wealth, to make two blades of grass grow where there has been but one.

When this is comprehended the indictment proposed by socialism against the "competitive system" falls to the ground. It is represented that competition is brutalizing strife, a state of war between hating rivals in which one is victorious and the other is destroyed. This is a repulsive and superficial view. Competition is indeed rivalry; but rivalry in what? All employment recognized as legitimate is useful and helpful to mankind; consequently, this rivalry is rivalry in usefulness, in service to the community. This is the true conception of it, a conception that dignifies and ennobles every calling in life. The effort by Senator Jones's company to bale and transport cotton fibre at a lower cost is precisely of a kind with the effort of the department stores to distribute cotton cloth and other goods to consumers at a lower cost than it was formerly done. If they accomplish their purpose they will justify their existence; and by their service to the many they will more than compensate for the injury that they of necessity do to a few.

What of the injury that they of necessity do to a few? In the case of the round-bale cotton-press, if it fulfils its prospectus there will be rendered valueless some millions of dollars' worth of square-bale presses. That amount of capital will be destroyed, but if destroyed it will be speedily replaced by the savings of the superior invention. It may or may not be replaced in the same hands. If not, it is one of the losses to which capitalists are subject, and for

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which they must prepare during the period of profits. There may be less labor employed under the new process than under the old. It is well if this is so; for the community has not a man to spare for work that can be dispensed with. Every day's work saved in supplying our present necessities enables us to pay for a day's work more in supplying comforts. There is literally no limit to the demand for labor, and only the most short-sighted would continue useless work for the sake of supplying employment.

According to Senator Jones the test of a corporation's right to exist is not to be found in its size. The question he raises is, Can it pay dividends out of the economic savings which it effects? He answers for his own corporation that it can, and presumably would justify any capitalization upon which that could be done. This is something tangible. This is something definite on the "trust" question. This is no sweeping condemnation of corporations simply because they are so large as practically to forbid competition by an individual. If the most economical methods cannot be obtained by the use of $100,000 under one management, he would get together $1,000,000, and if that did not secure the best results he would make it $5,000,000. In the case of the round-lap bale company they have made it $7,000,000. If they could have made the organization more efficient by making it as big as one of the so-called steel "trusts," the logic of Senator Jones's defence compels us to believe that he would have favored doing so. Certainly they did not stop at $7,000,000 to avoid making it monopolistic and from considerations for individual competitors. They fixed upon that figure doubtless as the one most advantageous to themselves.

Now the so-called "trusts" of this day are plain corporations like the one in which Senator Jones is interested. As a rule, they have no power or immunity from competition except such as large capital gives. Therefore, a demand for the suppression of "trusts" must be predicated upon the proposition that their size makes them dangerous, and is sufficient reason for legislating them out of existence. Mr. Bryan is a leader among those who hold this view. He ridicules the idea that there can be both good and bad "trusts." All are bad in his eyes, because their size gives them undue power. As opposed to this view we have the practical business man's view, as voiced by Senator Jones, that the capital of a corporation may be of any size required to conduct its business most advantageously, and that so long as it pays its dividends out of the economic sav-

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ings effected by its superior capital no objection can properly or reasonably lie against it.

Between Mr. Bryan and Senator Jones we have clearly defined the only issue there is on the "trust" question. They ought to be invited to develop it in a symposium of their own. If not convenient to do so before the election, then after the election; for evidently the trust question will not be settled in this campaign, whatever the result. Mr. Bryan eliminates the possible economic savings to which Senator Jones gives consideration upon the theory that even though such results are achieved the advantage remains with the trust, and does not inure to the public. He goes over the country and sees idle factories, which he is informed are owned by trusts and have been closed because under one management fewer factories can turn out the required product with greater economy. He pronounces this an evil. In truth, such management of its industries is advantageous to the community as a whole, even though all the immediate savings be retained by the corporation. There is a gain of wealth to society; and, whoever may own it, that wealth becomes a productive factor in the community, and inevitably enters into competition in some line to supply the needs of the community.

The theory that there is no advantage to the public in the economic savings effected by a trust is like the theory that there is no loss to the community by the destruction of property that is covered by insurance. It is to the advantage of everybody in an enlightened and progressive society to have the efficiency of labor promoted and the available stock of wealth increased, because all that is saved immediately begins to contribute to the output. The poverty and misery of such countries as India and China are due to the low productive powers of the population, to the inefficiency of labor working without the aid of capital. It is not necessary for the peasantry of those countries to own the railways, steam engines, and labor-saving machinery that they so much need, in order to derive benefits from them. By their use the production of those countries will be greatly increased; and by the industries created, the employment given, and the inducements that must be offered to the masses to persuade them to use the new agencies, a new standard of living will be established for these peoples, as has recently occurred in Japan, and has come to pass in the United States within the last generation.

It is a mistake to say that the problem of society is no longer one of production, but one of distribution. The problem is always how

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to increase production. Careful statisticians have calculated that the total production of wealth in the United States in one year, including the yield of the soil, the output of the mines, rents, and the earnings of capital, if divided equally per capita, would scarcely give more than $2 per day for each person employed in gainful occupations. Within this limit all debate over what is a fair return for capital and what is a living wage is necessarily confined, for we cannot divide more than the total product. Happily, the limit is not immovable, but is always rising, thanks to the steady accumulation of capital, and to the constant rivalry in efforts to increase the efficiency of labor.

It is impossible to prevent the masses from sharing in the advantages of increasing wealth and in the gains of industrial progress. It is no more possible to prevent it than to prevent the waters from reaching the sea. It is determined by forces as certain as gravity. The impulse to accumulate, the instinct to compete, the desire to surpass, and the money-making motives that lead men to organize trusts are too strong for the trusts to control. Every dividend day the proprietors of each profitable trust have new capital to invest. What can they do with it? If production is equal to the market in their own field, they cannot invest there unless they can find a way to enlarge the demand; and the only way to enlarge the demand is to reduce the price. Most likely they prefer to invade some other field, and to invest their new accumulation in rivalry there. They cannot invest it without rivalry, for if they do not cut prices they must be content to divide the old volume of business, which means a reduction of profits to the old concerns. But a constantly increasing supply of capital cannot go on simply dividing the old business indefinitely. The returns all around would eventually be *nil*. Human nature is not calculated to endure that kind of a strain. Somebody will have confidence enough in his own capacity to do business to desire to be free enough to get all he can. A break is only a question of time, and when it comes a lower level of prices is permanently established.

Mr. Bryan is a thorough believer in an enlarged volume of money. He argues that the benefits of an enlarged money supply cannot be confined to the people who happen to own the mines, but will permeate society. The errors in his theory are due to confusing money with capital. His arguments are good as applied to capital, and fallacious as applied to money. Capital is the real thing which it is desirable to multiply, and which cannot be multiplied without giving benefits to all.

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Let us assume for a moment that every important line of production is controlled by a combination, and that the policy is to maintain fixed prices. Capital would go on accumulating, and the new supply would have no outlet for employment. These combinations are each composed of many stockholders, with unequal interests. Is it to be supposed that all of these stockholders will be content to rest indefinitely with their original holdings and with no opportunity to change their relative positions in the business world? They will know what profits are being made. Will not the energetic and ambitious who have small holdings be dissatisfied to see the control of the business and the bulk of the earnings remain always with others? Will not dissension and disintegration within be quite as imminent and constant a danger as competition from without? Do not all the forces that impel men to money-making combine to break down such an artificial constriction of industry?

A wave of alarm that almost reached the stage of panic swept over the country about a year ago, when the fever for organizing big combinations was at its height. A general, and in some cases extraordinary, advance in prices at the time gave plausibility to the fear that these concerns would be able to make prices practically what they pleased, that the law of competition was behind the times and had gone out of operation. We know more about that now. If the advance in prices was proof of the power of the trusts what does the progressive decline, which has now been going on for nearly a year, prove?

The field most thoroughly covered in 1899 by combinations was the iron industry, and the advance in prices in that line for the first nine months of the year was phenomenal. But it was by no means unprecedented. A similar "boom" in iron goods occurred twenty years before, under similar business conditions. The files of the "Iron Age" show that at the beginning of the year 1879 number one foundry pig was quoted at $16.50 to $18 per ton in Philadelphia, bar iron $1.65 per hundred, nails $2 per keg, steel rails $42 per ton. By July there had been an advance amounting to $2 per ton on the pig; by the latter part of August another dollar had been added; but in the month of September came a jump of $10 per ton. Four months later, *i.e.*, January 22, 1880, pig iron was quoted at $41 to $42 per ton, steel rails at $80 to $85, bar iron at $3.75 per hundred, and nails $5.25 per keg. This was before the era of trusts.

Following the panic of 1873, there had been a period of six years

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of dull times, when confidence in the future seemed to be dead. Hand-to-mouth buying was the rule, all construction and repairs that could be postponed were put off, and stocks were run down to the lowest limit. Then came the inflow of money caused by the return to gold payments, January 1, 1879, and to the heavy exports of that year; and forthwith resulted a revolution in sentiment and in conditions. With hope awakened and courage regained the country was starving for goods, and manufacturers were flooded with urgent orders. When their capacity was engaged for months in advance, or with only a small margin for possible increase, famine prices appeared. Probably only a small portion of the output was sold at those figures. Buyers bid against each other for the unsold capacity, as people fight for seats in a life-boat that cannot carry all. The foregoing description covers exactly the conditions that followed the panic of 1893 and culminated in the boom of 1899. The rise of last year signified nothing as to the power of the trusts over prices. It was merely a demonstration of the effect of an excessive demand.

That there is something disquieting in the development of these great aggregations of capital is not to be denied, and that they need the restraining arm of authority in some of their practices is generally recognized. The courts, however, have already gone far enough in defining the rights of the public to show that monopolistic power is now under their control. The remarkable decision of the Illinois Supreme Court, by which the Associated Press, a mutual corporation, is directed to sell its news to any newspaper that may apply, is an illustration of the tendency of the time. With the courts taking such ground there is no necessity for hasty and destructive legislation. What is done should be done in harmony with the economic laws which are evidently forcing the centralization of industry, and with a view to promoting, and not of defeating, the legitimate result of that movement, which is an increased production and a more general distribution of the material comforts of life.

George E. Roberts.

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THE NEXT PAN-AMERICAN CONFERENCE.

THE numerous questions of general interest and common benefit to all the republics of America which were considered by the International American Conference, held in Washington in 1889-90, led President McKinley to suggest, in his last annual message to Congress, that it seemed expedient that the various American republics constituting the International Union should be invited, at an early date, to hold another conference. He suggested that it should be in the capital of one of the countries that had not already enjoyed that honor.

The Mexican Government took up this suggestion at once, and it has officially invited the states comprising the Union to attend a conference to convene in the capital city of Mexico, commencing October 22, 1901. The acceptance of the invitation by all the nations has been assured, and the meeting of the plenipotentiaries promises to be one of great moment. But before discussing this phase of the subject it would seem appropriate to take a retrospective glance at the steps which have led to the close and intimate relations now existing between the peoples of this hemisphere.

History accords chiefly to Henry Clay the authorship of the idea of the solidarity of the interests of all America. It was his desire to have that solidarity assume a concrete form in the Congress of Panama, in 1826, which was the first one to be held, although the idea to form close connections between the Spanish colonies in Central and South America was first advanced as early as 1821, at which time these colonies were engaged in the struggle for independence against the mother country — Spain. It was not long after the independence of these colonies had been recognized by the United States that a treaty was also negotiated between Colombia and Chile (1822), contemplating "the construction of a continental system for America." The President of the United States accepted the invitation to the Congress of Panama, and in issuing the instructions to our delegates Mr. Clay, Secretary of State, said that the assembling of the congress

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would form a new epoch in human affairs. "The fact itself," he added further, "whatever may be the issue of the conference of such a congress, can not fail to challenge the attention of the present generation of the civilized world and to command that of posterity." The United States Senate declined, however, to confirm the nomination of the delegates. The Panama Congress has been considered a failure, the minutes and protocols having a certain historical value only. While in the main true, this is not unqualifiedly the case. Its adjournment was not *sine die*, but to meet again at Tacubaya, a town near the City of Mexico. "A treaty of perpetual union" and several supplemental agreements and conventions had been concluded, all of which required the approval of the respective Governments in order to become effective. The plenipotentiaries desired to explain their work personally and defend it in their own countries; and, furthermore, the health conditions in Panama were not such as to make a protracted stay there desirable. Due notice of the change was given to all the Governments represented.

The United States sent delegates to Tacubaya, but the assembly itself never met. The reason why the assembly failed to meet was not because of any abandonment of the fundamental ideas cherished by Bolivar, and set forth in his invitation to all the Spanish American nations, but because of the failure of the Governments represented therein, especially Mexico, Guatemala, and Peru, to approve the treaty and its appendices framed at Panama. Bolivar himself was opposed to certain features of the treaty, and to the transfer of the assembly to Tacubaya; but he submitted it to the Colombian congress, and, upon approval by that body, ratified it. The plenipotentiaries at Panama fully performed the work with which they had been entrusted, and the failure of several of the Governments to ratify it constitutes the "failure" of the congress.

The invitation to the Congress of Panama was extended by Bolivar, but only to Colombia, Mexico, Central America, the United Provinces of Buenos Ayres, Chile, and Brazil. Colombia and Mexico, however, invited the United States, claiming to have conceived the idea of such a conference at or about the same time that Bolivar planned the Panama Congress for the purpose of uniting Spanish America against Spain. Bolivar convened it for military, as well as for political, purposes. With the military object the United States could have nothing to do; and when the full effects of the Monroe doctrine were felt the necessity for that object ceased. Unhappily

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for the United States the administration of that day did not have the support of the country, and a golden opportunity for the establishment of close and cordial relations and the creation of commercial intercourse was lost. The following extract from "Notes upon Foreign Treaties of the United States" throws considerable light upon the situation:

"In looking back upon the Panama Congress from this length of time, it is easy to understand why the earnest and patriotic men who endeavored to crystallize an American system for this continent failed. * * * One of the questions proposed for discussion in the Conference was 'The consideration of the means to be adopted for the entire abolition of the African slave-trade,' to which proposition the committee of the United States Senate of that day replied: 'The United States have not certainly the right, and ought never to feel the inclination, to dictate to others who may differ with them upon the subject: nor do the committee see the expediency of insulting other States, with whom we are maintaining relations of perfect amity, by ascending the moral chair and proclaiming from thence mere abstract principles, of the rectitude of which each nation enjoys the perfect right of deciding for itself.'"

The same committee also alluded to the possibility that the condition of the islands of Cuba and Puerto Rico, still the possessions of Spain, and still slave-holding, might be made the subject of discussion and of contemplated action by the Panama Congress. They said:

"If ever the United States permit themselves to be associated with these nations in any general Congress assembled for the discussion of common plans, in any way affecting European interests, they will, by such act, not only deprive themselves of the ability they now possess of rendering useful assistance to the other American States, but also produce other effects prejudicial to their interests."

The failure of the Congress of Panama neither dampened the ardor nor crushed the spirit of Americanism, which it was the endeavor of its promoters to instill into the hearts of the inhabitants of this hemisphere. It was Mexico who next moved in the matter; and on the date of March 13, 1831, she invited the American Republics to meet in a new congress, which, however, did not eventuate. Five years later, however, in 1836, Mexico repeated her efforts, offering the following programme:

"The union and close alliance of the new States for the purpose of defence against foreign invasion, the acceptance of friendly mediation of the neutral States for the settlement of all disagreements and disputes of whatever nature which might happen to arise between the sister Republics, and the framing and promulgation of a code of public law regulating their mutual relations."

Further invitations were extended by her in 1839 and 1840. It was not until 1847, however, that the republics of Bolivia, Chile,

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Ecuador, New Granada, and Peru decided to carry out the idea; and it was at the first meeting of this congress, at Lima, that the decision to invite the United States was reached. But the scope of the congress — being intended solely to unite the Spanish-speaking republics closer and more intimately with each other — could hardly have admitted of our presence there. Aside from the fact that the meeting at Lima was to deal entirely with Spanish-American interests, the United States were at the time at war with their Mexican neighbors.

The "continental treaty of 1856" was made at Santiago, Chile, by the republics of Peru, Chile, and Ecuador; and the Government of Peru was authorized to communicate with the other Governments and ask them to adhere to its stipulations. The Spanish-speaking nations of the American continent were again invited by Peru to meet in conference at Lima in 1864. This conference was opened on the 14th of November of that year. The United States were not invited. Here again it was Latin-American consolidation that was proposed. In 1880 the Government of Colombia addressed a circular note to the Governments of the other Spanish-American republics based upon Art. 3 of the projected treaty between Colombia and Chile, having for its object a meeting of plenipotentiaries of all the Spanish-American states at Panama, in September, 1881.

This meeting was for the purpose of executing with one another an international treaty or convention similar to the one executed between Colombia and Chile, and which "thus not only established the principles of international representation for the determination of any disputes which may arise between any of the co-signatory states as a part of the public law of this continent, but also provided for the practical obligation of these principles by constituting the President of the United States the permanent arbitrator under the proposed treaty." The minister of the United States at Bogota, in adverting to this subject, said:

> "The correspondence does not disclose the fact that a plenipotentiary from the United States is invited to join in the execution of the proposed treaty or convention. This is probably owing to the reason that the position assigned to the Government of the United States by the proposed treaty is to maintain and exercise a friendly and judicial impartiality in the differences which may arise between the powers of Spanish America."

The proposed congress of 1881 was not held, war having broken out in South America at about the time fixed for the meeting. On November 29, 1881, Mr. Blaine, then Secretary of State, addressed a circular letter to the United States representatives in the states of

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Central and South America soliciting their participation in a general congress to be held in the city of Washington in 1882. Mr. Blaine maintained that a growing disposition had made itself manifest by certain states of Central and South America to refer decisions affecting grave questions of international relations and boundaries to arbitration rather than to the sword, and that it had been on several occasions the source of profound satisfaction to the Government of the United States to see that this country was in a large measure looked to by all the American powers as their friend and mediator. Mr. Blaine stated that it was the wish of the President that the attention of the congress should be strictly confined to one great object, and that its sole aim was to be to seek a way permanently to avert the horrors of cruel and bloody contact between countries. It was made very plain that the United States did not assume the position of counsellor, and that she would not, in any case, attempt, through means of the congress, to settle questions dividing any of the countries of America; nor was it to be the purpose of the United States to prejudge any issues.

International complications in South America here again interfered, and the congress of 1882 was not held, the invitations being withdrawn by Mr. Freylinghuysen; not before, however, numerous acceptances had been received, all couched in the most friendly terms. A potent factor in securing these acceptances was the circumstance that representation was to be accorded to all the nations of America. None was to be excluded, either because of the peculiarity of its form of government, or on account of its superiority in the possession of the elements of power. Moreover, all were to assume the same obligations upon a footing of perfect equality. This fact also, in the opinion of many, gave to the project originated by Mr. Blaine a practical importance which was lacking in earlier conferences. Again, the circumstance that the United States made no specifications and proposed no means for preventing war, but left it open for the congress itself to determine, gave such confidence that the proposition was received practically with enthusiasm. It was believed that even the calling of such a congress had not been without benefit, since the attention of the people of the United States, as well as of the republics of South America, had been directed to the importance of having a definite policy governing their international relations which should be satisfactory to all.

The South American Conference held in Montevideo, in 1888-89,

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can hardly be considered as coming within the sphere of purely political conferences. It was, moreover, simply a convention of Spanish-American jurists.

The several attempts since 1880 to obtain legislative action in the United States providing for the holding of an International American Conference, while exceedingly interesting, need receive but a simple reference here. The bill authorizing such a conference was finally passed by both Houses of Congress on May 10, 1888, and was approved on the 24th of the same month. Upon this latter point some historians have unfortunately erred in stating it was announced on May 28 that the bill had become law without the President's approval. An examination of the original archives shows that President Cleveland did sign the act, thus giving it the full force of his approval, and that he did not, as implied by the above statement, hold back the instrument until the constitutional ten days had elapsed, and thus allow it to become law without his sanction. Attention is called to this inaccuracy, which was the more unfortunate as the inference to be deducted therefrom was, naturally, that President Cleveland was not in sympathy with the idea of holding the Conference. Moreover, the fact that his distinguished opponent for presidential honors, Mr. Blaine, had been the author and promoter of the scheme, during a previous and politically antagonistic administration, would lend additional weight to such inference. The official act of President Cleveland in signing the bill entirely disposes of this.

Nothing did more to add lustre to Mr. Blaine's name and fame than his aggressive Americanism. In that he was certainly above party prejudice, and no less so was Mr. Cleveland. Both of our great political parties, when in power, showed a practical sympathy for the "solidarity of the interests of all America." The invitations to the conference were extended by Mr. Bayard to the several Governments of Mexico, Central and South America, Haïti, and San Domingo. The act provided that the President of the United States should set forth that the Congress was called to consider:

(1) Measures that shall tend to preserve and promote the prosperity of the several American states; (2) measures toward the formation of an American customs union, under which the trade of the American nations with one another shall, so far as possible and profitable, be promoted; (3) the establishment of regular and frequent communication between the ports of the several American states and the ports of one another; (4) the establishment of a uniform system of

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customs regulations in each of the independent American states to govern the mode of importation and exportation of merchandise and port dues and charges, a uniform method of determining the classification and valuation of such merchandise in the ports of each country, and a uniform system of invoices, and the subject of the sanitation of ships and quarantine; (5) the adoption of a uniform system of weights and measures, and laws to protect the patent rights, copyrights, and trademarks of citizens of either country in the other, and for the extradition of criminals; (6) the adoption of a common silver coin, to be issued by each Government, the same to be legal tender in all commercial transactions between the citizens of all of the American states; (7) an agreement upon and recommendation for adoption to their respective Governments of a definite plan of arbitration of all questions, disputes, and differences, that may now or hereafter exist between them, to the end that all difficulties and disputes between such nations may be peaceably settled and wars prevented; (8) and to consider such other subjects relating to the welfare of the several states represented as may be presented by any of said states which are hereby invited to participate in said conference.

Wednesday, the second day of October, 1889, was named as the day for the convening of the conference. Later the King of the Hawaiian Islands was invited to send delegates. All the countries accepted the invitation. The congress convened on the date appointed. Mr. Blaine opened the deliberations in a speech of welcome which will always remain a model discourse fitting the subject and occasion. It breathed the spirit of Americanism, and reached its climax when he said that it was "a conference, in fine, which will seek nothing that is not, in the general sense of all the delegates, timely, wise, and useful."

The delegates went enthusiastically to work upon an extensive programme, embracing every question which could possibly, either directly or indirectly, bear upon our hemispherical conditions and relations. Eighteen committees were appointed to deal with the various subjects. Mr. Blaine was chosen President; ex-Senator Henderson, President *pro tempore;* Mr. Zegarra, of Peru, first Vice-President, and Mr. Romero, of Mexico, second Vice-President. The sessions lasted intermittently until April 19, 1890.

International conferences and commissions that frame treaties revolutionize the world. This cannot, however, be said of such as are diplomatic rather than legislative. Those of the former category,

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to which the International American Conference of 1890 belonged, nevertheless exert powerful influences which are not always shown in the actual and practical results obtained. Unquestionably, harmony and understanding between the nations of America was secured, and certain things were accomplished which the decade following the meeting of the conference has demonstrated to be of considerably more than sentimental value to all the nations concerned. In the first place, an International Union of American Republics was formed, with an organ in the shape of a bureau at Washington. This has existed for ten years, and its life has been prolonged for a further period of ten years.

The American Monetary Conference was held in Washington in 1891. A survey for an intercontinental railway was made, and there has been compiled a code of commercial nomenclature in the English, Spanish, and Portuguese languages, which is accepted as a standard. Upon other subjects the debate assumed a wide range; and while at times interests clashed, the patriotic intent of the several delegates was never for a moment questioned. Research and investigation were stimulated to a degree never before equalled in a similar undertaking. The forces that were put to work, and the labor enjoined to prepare statistical data for argumentative and other purposes, materially increased the general knowledge upon many subjects of deep concern to statesmanship and commerce — subjects which had to some measure been either neglected or misunderstood for the lack of a proper forum for their full and free discussion. The great question of arbitration formed a theme of eloquent debate, and an agreement was reached, which was recommended for adoption by the several Governments, of a definite plan of arbitration of all questions, disputes, and differences that might exist, or hereafter exist, between them; and there was further recommended a system of arbitration for the settlement of all difficulties between the republics of America and the nations of Europe. The various committees all made reports showing careful investigation and thought, and in such cases where they were not unanimous the dissenting opinions went on record in the form of a minority report. In a word, the conference was a far step toward the integration of America along the lines wished for by Bolivar and Clay, and carried further toward perfection by the genius of Blaine and his associates.

It is not unfair to assume that the commercial gathering in Philadelphia in 1897, known as the Pan-American Commercial Congress,

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was a direct result of its political predecessor in 1890. Sixteen countries were represented there either from chambers of commerce or other commercial bodies; while several republics, notably Mexico and Brazil, sent representatives appointed by their chief executives. President McKinley made an address at the opening of that congress. Again, the Pan-American Exposition, to be held in Buffalo in the summer of 1901, is but another link in the chain of events tending to add to the good feeling, mutual regard, and benefit.

After all that has gone before, the congress in the City of Mexico will convene under the most pleasant auspices. Its programme has been so mapped out as to include many of the subjects treated at the previous conference as well as such new ones as may be submitted to it. But, above all, it will be an international occasion of the first importance dedicated to intercontinental friendship, peace, and prosperity. As Mr. Mariscal, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Mexico, has aptly said, in reference to it: "Not forgetting that civilization came to us from Europe, and that the great interests of humanity are one, we must confess that in America there are special interests and closer bonds between her inhabitants, with fewer international complications to secure the welfare of her peoples."

It seems peculiarly appropriate that the threshold of the twentieth century should witness renewed activity in conserving these special interests so forcibly pointed out by the distinguished Mexican statesman.

WILLIAMS C. FOX.

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BREAD, AND BREAD-MAKING AT THE PARIS EXPOSITION.

When asked by the editor of The Forum to contribute an article on some interesting feature of the great Exposition of 1900, I appreciated the difficulty of selecting any theme of which the reading public had not already heard. The architecture and paintings, the machinery and manufactured products, the fêtes and midway amusements have all been described. Those things which lie nearest the welfare and happiness of man are often the last to engage our attention, and we know less about bread to-day than we do about faience and fashions.

Nutrition is the first and fundamental need of the race, and bread is the basis of all strength and growth the world over. The term bread is not used here in its general sense, but in that restricted meaning which embraces the products of ground cereals, mixed with water and flavoring or leavening agents, and baked at a temperature which, external to the loaf, at least, is higher than that of boiling water. In our country of plenty, most of all, should be found a knowledge of bread and bread-making; but our attention as a nation has not been given to a scientific and practical study of cooking. The great evils of our time and country are not intemperance, bribery, and trusts, but the frying-pan, bicarbonate of soda, and pie. Even in our best hotels and fashionable restaurants we are not always certain of having good bread, and in other places, not excepting private houses, we are quite likely not to have it.

Bread may be made from any cereal flour, but of all the cereals wheat is particularly the bread maker. I would not go so far as Professor Crookes and insinuate that only wheat eaters are world rulers; but no one who has considered the subject can deny the supereminence in bread-making to wheat flour.

Aside from being good and bad, wheaten bread may be divided into two classes, leavened and unleavened. The unleavened loaf, or cake, is used chiefly in religious ceremonials, and in the form of

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biscuits, commonly but very incorrectly known as "crackers." Where bread is to be left for some time or is to be transported to great distances the latter form is desirable, especially when the biscuits are made without the addition of those common mineral substances for which Americans seem to have a veritable passion.

Various methods of aëration have been used in the production of leavened bread, for the making of which only wheaten flour is suitable. The nitrogenous principles of wheat are composed chiefly of glutenin and gliadin, which, under the action of water, unite to form the gluten or tenacious element of dough. This waxy substance is not only highly nutritious; it is also tough and elastic. Particles of gas entangled in it are surrounded by a practically air-tight, but elastic, envelope. When these particles of gas exert a pressure on the envelope the latter expands, and the mass becomes spongy, in proportion to the number, size, and propinquity of these gas particles. Air or carbon dioxid may also be mechanically mixed with wheat dough; and when the mass is subjected to heat, as in an oven or on a stove, these gas particles expand and produce a porous and spongy loaf. But mechanical aëration can only be successfully produced under pressure, and the apparatus is costly. Moreover, mechanically aërated bread seems to lack the flavor and palatability of that produced by fermentation.

It is the function of the yeast cells, by means of certain enzymes which they secrete, to produce a fermentation of the sugar which all wheaten flour contains; and thus carbon dioxid and alcohol are produced. Since this fermentation takes place within the mass of the dough, thousands of small particles of gas and alcohol are produced. These particles of gas, and of liquid which rapidly becomes gas at a high temperature, become entangled in the gluten of the dough and, expanding, produce the leavening effects which are so valuable a quality in the bread made from wheat. On baking, the particles of gas become still more expanded, and they continue to enlarge until the heat of the oven coagulates and fixes the film of gluten so that it no longer expands. The alcohol, which is a liquid that boils below the boiling point of water, also assumes a gaseous state during the baking, and thus adds to the leavening effect.

Bread is also raised by various chemical reagents, known as yeast or baking powders. The principle of the action of all these reagents is the same. The chemical reactions which they undergo produce carbon dioxid, or carbonic acid gas, as it is commonly called.

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This reaction takes place in the particles of dough, producing in some respects the same leavening effects which are found as a result of ordinary fermentation. The result of the chemical reaction of these baking powders, however, leaves in the baked bread a mineral residuum, which varies in nature and in degree in accordance with the chemicals employed.

While it is true that people who eat other cereals apparently have good health and are strong, it is also true that the wheat-eating nations, as a rule, take the lead in progress and in accomplishment. I would not go so far as to say that wheat is necessary to individual and national development and progress, but it is doubtless true that by its use, in so far as food is concerned, the best interests of evolution and development are conserved. There is very little evidence, if any, to show that the gluten, the nitrogenous element of wheat, is any more nutritious than zein, the nitrogenous element of corn, or than hordein, the nitrogenous element of barley, or than gliadin, the nitrogenous element of rye. But since by its peculiar properties it makes bread more porous, more palatable, and more attractive, it appeals in a stronger way to the finer digestive feelings. The nutritive value of wheat flour, however, depends largely upon the character of the milling, and the palatability of the loaf upon the character of the baking.

Among all the exhibits of bread and bread-making at the Paris Exposition the one which interested me most was a system of milling and baking combined. This system has a double purpose: (1) to make the flour more palatable and more nutritious than that made by the ordinary roller mill; and (2) to make it immediately before baking, so as to secure for the loaf a flour which is absolutely fresh. It is well known that all food substances when ground to a fine powder have a tendency to become oxidized. As is the case with coffee, which is best when freshly roasted and freshly ground, so it is with cereal flour, which is never so aromatic, so palatable, or so nutritious as at the moment when it is first made.

The Schweitzer system of milling and bread-making secures the two points mentioned above. In Paris a mill and an attached bakery, on a somewhat large scale, illustrated the method which is employed in supplying bread to a populous community. Another installation was a form of apparatus adapted for use on a farm or in a small community. So perfect is the milling system employed that the smallest mill, intended for use on a farm, and driven by the hand,

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as a coffee mill would be run, makes flour identical in composition with that made by the largest machine. The Schweitzer system, in regard to the milling operations, is a return to the old system of millstones, with the exception that corrugated steel grinders take the place of the millstones of the olden days. These grinders are so accurately adjusted as to admit of the making of the finest flour, while avoiding actual contact of the two grinding surfaces. The simplicity of the apparatus, its cheapness, and the ease with which it can be installed commend this system particularly for domestic use and for the supply of villages and small communities. Nevertheless, it is capable of being operated on an extensive scale, as is demonstrated by the large establishment at La Villette, Paris, where more than 100,000 pounds of bread are made per day from flour not more than twenty-four hours old.

This system of milling also retains in the flour many of the nutritive elements which the roller system eliminates. The germ and many of the gluten cells, especially those situated near the outside of the grain, in the aleurone layer, become flattened on passing between the rollers, and their particles are not able to pass through the bolting cloths; hence they do not appear in the flour. For this reason the flour made by the roller process is extremely white and very smooth to the touch; its whiteness being due to the preponderance of starch, and its smoothness to the crushing of the starchy particles by the mill rollers. On the other hand, the flour produced by the Schweitzer system has a marked yellow tint and is granular, because the particles composing it have never been crushed, but have been simply separated and torn by the grinding surfaces.

The flour produced by this grinding process contains especially the phosphatic elements of nourishment, which are so abundant in wheat, particularly in the nuclein of the embryo, and which are largely eliminated by the ordinary roller process of milling. This difference in the two flours is beautifully shown by means of skiagraphy, in other words, in actinographs made by the use of the Röntgen rays. If the two kinds of flour be placed side by side on a sensitized plate and subjected to the action of the Röntgen rays, it will be seen that the flour made by the ordinary milling process produces a very faint image, while that made by the Schweitzer system produces a much darker shade. This is due to the fact that the phosphatic elements tend to retard the passage of the Röntgen rays, while the starchy elements permit them to pass with but little obstruction. Chemical analyses

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show that the flour made according to the Schweitzer system has more than twice as much phosphatic material as that made by the ordinary roller process. The importance of this fact in respect of nutrition should not be lost sight of, and we must admit that nutrition, not whiteness of color, is the principal object of bread-making.

The use of the bread made according to the Schweitzer system has spread very rapidly in Paris and in other localities where it has been introduced. At first the prejudice of the consumer for the white loaf must be overcome, inasmuch as the bread made from the flour of the Schweitzer system, while not dark in color, has quite a yellowish tint, which at once distinguishes it from ordinary bread. When one eats this bread, however, it is found to be so palatable, so nutritious, and so aromatic that no other kind is desired.

The exhibit of the Schweitzer system at the Exposition also included an installation illustrating the method of supplying fresh bread to the army. This installation consisted of a complete mill on wheels, arranged as an automobile using kerosene as its motive power. There was also an exhibit in which the mills were arranged so as to be drawn by horses or mules. The oven in which the baking takes place was also on wheels. In a word, the whole system is so arranged as to be able to follow the regiment on the march, and to let the soldiers have each day fresh bread made from absolutely fresh flour. For the navy, another exhibit showed the method of setting up mills and ovens on ship board; but this, of course, was much less complicated than the method for supplying the army.

The production of wheat for bread-making, as is well known, is one of the most important agricultural industries of our country. In 1866 the area planted to wheat in the United States was 15,424,496 acres. In 1899 the area planted to wheat was 44,592,516 acres, over half as much as the area planted to Indian corn. The yield of wheat in bushels in 1866 was 151,999,906. In 1899 it was 547,303,846, being the largest crop ever produced, with the exception of that raised in 1898, when the yield per acre was phenomenal, reaching 15.3 bushels. The number of bushels exported in 1899 was 222,694,920; the quantity used for seeding in that year was 55,740,645 bushels, which was at the rate of a bushel and a peck per acre; so that in 1899 the quantity of wheat consumed in breadstuffs, in this country, is represented by 268,868,281 bushels.

This immense quantity of nutritive material had the following average composition, as determined by analyses made in the Chem-

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ical Division of the Department of Agriculture. The following table also shows a comparison between the average composition of wheat and that of the other principal cereals used in bread-making:

CONSTITUENTS.	BARLEY.	BUCK-WHEAT.	MAIZE.	OATS.	RYE.	WHEAT.
	GRAMS.					
Weight of 100 kernels.	4.19	3.12	38.98	2.92	2.49	3.87
	PER CENT.					
Moisture.....	10.80	12.15	10.93	10.06	10.62	10.62
Proteids.....	10.69	10.75	9.88	12.15	12.43	12.23
Ether extract.....	2.13	2.11	4.17	4.33	1.65	1.77
Crude fibre.....	4.05	10.75	1.71	12.07	2.09	2.36
Ash.....	2.44	1.89	1.36	3.46	1.92	1.82
Starch and sugars....	69.89	62.35	71.95	57.93	71.29	71.20

The above comparison of the chemical data does not reveal all the differences between the various cereals used for bread-making purposes. In a study of this kind one must consider not only the actual quantity of the chemical substances mentioned, but also the properties and digestibility of each. In so far as the digestive and physical properties are concerned, the constituents of the various cereals are practically of the same nature, with the exception of the proteids.

It is true that the form of the starch granules differs, so that by the aid of a microscope it is possible to distinguish the source of any given starch granule which may be in the field of vision. There are slight differences also in the character of the fats and oils, which are given in the table under the head of "ether extract," but the differences in quantity are greater than those in quality. The ash has essentially the same composition in all of these cereals. In the nitrogenous constituents, however, included under the general term "proteids," the greatest differences are found. Gliadin is found in large quantities in both wheat and rye; but glutenin, which in combination with gliadin, forms the gluten, exists in notable quantities only in wheat. The differences in palatability and in panification, therefore, which are so marked in the various cereals, may be ascribed almost exclusively to the physical properties of the proteid constituents.

From the statistical data given above it is seen that during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1899, we used 268,868,281 bushels of wheat for bread-making purposes. It is true that not all of the wheat specified was used for bread-making, but so nearly all that practically the whole quantity named may be considered as entering into bread. This number of bushels represents 16,132,096,860 pounds. In proper panification the weight of the bread produced is almost identical with

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that of the wheat employed, since the waste which occurs in milling, such as the bran, middlings, shorts, etc., is almost identical in weight with the quantity of added water which the finished loaf contains. We may safely say that one hundred pounds of wheat make one hundred pounds of bread. Therefore, the total quantity of wheaten bread used during the year 1899, in the United States, was 16,132,096,860 pounds. The actual cost of this bread, placed upon the table, not to speak of the profits of the bakers, is about three cents per pound; making the total value of the bread consumed in the period of twelve months in the United States $483,962,905.80.

In view of the enormous economic importance of the bread industry, it is not unreasonable to desire to see the quality of our bread improved. It is not at all an exaggeration to say that scarcely twenty-five per cent of the enormous quantity of bread mentioned above is properly prepared or properly baked. The nutritive properties of the other seventy-five per cent are diminished, its palatability decreased, and its value lessened by improper methods of panification — not to speak of the dyspepsia and the other digestive disorders attending the use of poor bread. In the interest of health, economy, and good living, a reform of our bread-making processes is urgently demanded.

The domestic baking of bread is to be deplored. Bread-making is as much of an art as tailoring; and we have as much right to bread made by experts as we have to coats and gowns fashioned by tailors. In fact a "ready made" suit keeps you warm even if its fit is not faultless; but bread badly made has not a leg on which to stand. An earnest effort should be made to relegate domestic bread-making to the past, and to institute in every community bakeries under competent control, offering the best bread at the lowest prices.

H. W. Wiley.

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FOUR LEGS INSTEAD OF TWO.

It is a presumptuous, even dangerous, thing, for a layman to write on a professional subject. My only excuse for being guilty of this presumption is that my views are endorsed by the highest professional authority,[1] and because a thing so obvious has thus far seemingly escaped the serious attention of professional writers. Its discussion is so important that an amateur may be pardoned for forcing attention upon it.

The war in South Africa — the first war fought under modern conditions, with both armies equipped with the latest and most improved weapons both great and small, with all the recent devices of science at hand for the expeditious and convenient slaughtering of man — has made evident two things of the highest value from a military standpoint. Other things being equal, these are, (1) that the army of the greatest mobility will inevitably be victorious; (2) that to secure the highest degree of mobility the foot soldier must cease to exist.

It is curious to a layman to notice the sudden discovery made by military men and military writers of the destructive effects and precision of modern firearms. To judge from the expressions of many military writers since the outbreak of the war, the fact that a rifle bullet kills at a distance of a mile came as a revelation, and that field artillery is effective at four miles seems not to have been suspected. The destructiveness of the modern arm, rifle or cannon, may have been a surprise to the general public, whose knowledge of firearms is, as a rule, limited to sporting rifles; but surely it should not have been a surprise to military men, who, theoretically at least, were supposed to know the range and penetrative effects of the military

[1] I find the article, "Four Legs Instead of Two," very interesting, and deserving of thoughtful, serious attention by all who are interested in the rapidly changing conditions under which modern battles are being fought.

While I should qualify, in a measure, some of the generalizations, I believe the conclusions as to the importance of mobility are in the main true and borne out by recent experience. The question of time — "getting there first" — rather than the matter of numbers has increased immensely in importance of late years.

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weapon. During the last few months columns, pages, books even, have been written of the effect of small-arm fire and its power to annihilate an opposing force, and all as if never a thought had been given to the subject. But the real lesson of the war — mobility and how to secure it — has been alluded to in the most cursory way only.

It was not until two years ago that the world was given a practical illustration of the range and effect of the modern military rifle. In our war with Spain we saw what modern small-arm fire meant. It was the lesson learned at once by our commanders — our generals as well as our company officers. Men who had served through the Civil War, when by falling back 500 yards they were outside the fire zone, learned at El Caney and San Juan and in the trenches in front of Santiago that on the modern battlefield there is no place of safety. Within the radius of action there is no security; and, owing to the small-calibre bullet's velocity, penetrative power, and flat trajectory, the reserves are in almost as much danger as the men on the firing line. The men who were striplings in 1861 and veterans in 1898 quickly learned the difference in conditions, and it was a lesson they did not forget.

Another thing was learned. Despite the accuracy of modern fire, the attention which has been paid to the training of men at the butts, and the generally prevalent belief in the American army that the American infantryman has no superior as a sharpshooter in any army, it was found that in 1898, as in 1861, it took a thousand bullets to kill a man. The destructiveness of modern rifle-fire has not been exaggerated by the writers; but the ability of the military marksman to kill his individual foe at a distance, say, of 1,000 yards has not only been grossly exaggerated, but has been made ridiculous. The truth of this assertion can be demonstrated, I believe, both mathematically and by the returns of the casualties of every engagement; but to go into that now would be foreign to the purpose I have in view.

Modern warfare partakes of the general conditions of modern life, and the dominant spirit of the age is to do what has to be done with the least possible delay and the least possible expenditure of force. In the days of the past, when an investing army could calmly sit down before a city and wait for seven years until its garrison was ready to capitulate, time was not a factor. To-day time is the greatest factor. Modern weapons give the defensive a tremendous advantage over the offensive, an advantage so great that some experts have

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asserted that the attacking force must be ten times stronger than the defending to be successful. This being the case, it follows that the commander who can choose his own position and who has time to entrench himself before he is attacked can, as a rule, beat off his assailant. Because a bayonet charge is obsolete, because works cannot be carried by storm as they used to be, because the picturesque and dashing cavalry charge will no longer afford a theme for the painter or poet, it follows that the only way by which a position can be carried, unless the attacking force is in overwhelming numbers, is by a series of flanking movements; and the success of the flanking movement will depend upon the mobility of the assailant, who, while making his attack on one or both flanks in force, must make a feint in front which must have all the appearance of an attack in force.

The foot-soldier is an anachronism, as archaic as the man-at-arms with his halberd or the archer with his cloth-yard shaft. The modern foot-soldier is not only a fighting machine, he is also a beast of burden; and no man can be both with success. The American infantryman equipped for war is weighted down with rifle, bayonet, ammunition, clothing, shelter tent, water-bottle, and haversack, in all some sixty pounds in weight. It is a common belief that a soldier is so strong and hardy that he does not feel his burden; that he can march ten or fifteen miles with sixty pounds about his body and not mind it; that like the well-trained athlete, who thrives under violent exercise, he enjoys having to transport all this paraphernalia. Now, as a matter of fact, that is the one thing of all others which the soldier despises. He doesn't mind the fighting; he can put up with heat or cold; and although he may growl when his rations are short he accepts that as part of the day's work; but to turn himself into a porter, to be a coolie and the bearer of burdens, is the thing he abominates.

There is nothing more depressing to the spirits, nothing more devitalizing, nothing which makes a greater drain on a man than a march. There is nothing picturesque, nothing exhilarating, nothing to break the horrible monotony of this seemingly interminable plodding through baking dust or clogged mud or chilling snow. All the color of war has gone. There are no bands to make men forget their fatigue, no waving plumes and fluttering flags to excite the imagination, no spectators to stimulate pride, there is no scenery even. War is now a monochrome: every one dresses the same, khaki loses its semblance of color and takes on the color of the dirt or mud of the country through which the army marches, and no man sees more than

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the man in front of him or the man on each side of him. Hour after hour this goes on; rifles become heavier, ammunition-belts chafe more gallingly, haversacks and water-bottles strike in a tender spot, shoes get filled with grit which makes each step an agony. If after a long march men are thrown into action they have lost their vim and their power of resistance; and it is only by sheer nerve that they are able to stand up to the rack. Nine times out of ten infantry are sent into action with their nerves unstrung, simply because they have been broken down by the strain which has been put upon them. To get the best results out of men they should go into action in a perfect physical condition; but they are generally weakened by the drain made upon them.

The remedy for this, a remedy which will not only increase the actual physical strength of an army but will also give it that mobility which is all-essential, is to give each man his own means of transport, that is, to mount him. The armies of the future will be armies of mounted infantry. It must be understood that I clearly differentiate between mounted infantry and cavalry. The infantry will still be infantry, although they are mounted; and the sole object in mounting them will be to provide them with a means of transport and will enable them to cover the ground more rapidly, and relieve them of the necessity of being their own beasts of burden. Instead of carrying sixty pounds about their persons this weight will be carried by their horses. Instead of making, say, ten miles a day with great fatigue, great bodily discomfort, great depression of spirits, they will be able to make from two to three times that distance, and at the end of a march they will be as fit as when they started. The mounted infantryman will not be a cavalryman in any sense of the word. He will be armed as he now is with a rifle; he will be trained as he now is to fight on foot; the infantry tactics will be the only tactics he knows; but he will be conveyed instead of being a conveyor.

A regiment of a thousand men will march on their horses until such time as it becomes necessary to go into action. When the regiment deploys, one man in every five will be detailed to look after the horses. This is an initial loss of 20 per cent of the fighting force of the regiment, and the regiment is thereby weakened to that extent. Nominally, its effectiveness is reduced; in practice, however, I venture the assertion that a regiment of eight hundred men which has been brought to the scene of action mounted will be more than a match for a thousand men who have marched one, two, or three days, or an equal

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number of weeks. The men on horseback will have conserved their strength; the men on foot will have dissipated it. But the 20 per cent of the regiment in reserve with the horses will not be lost. There will be men wounded, useless on the firing line, but able to take care of the horses, men who can release an equal number of reservists; and this constant accession of fresh men during the progress of a battle will be valuable. Napoleon taught the value of throwing fresh troops into action, men whose strength had not been broken down by the strain of battle, and who on more than one occasion made victory possible.

So far the object of mounting infantry has been considered simply with the view of affording transport; but there is another end in view equally as important to be considered. A mobile force must be a mounted force, and mobility is the all-important thing in modern warfare. Owing to the ever-increasing range of projectiles, the theatre of action must occupy a wide area, and a "front" will extend for

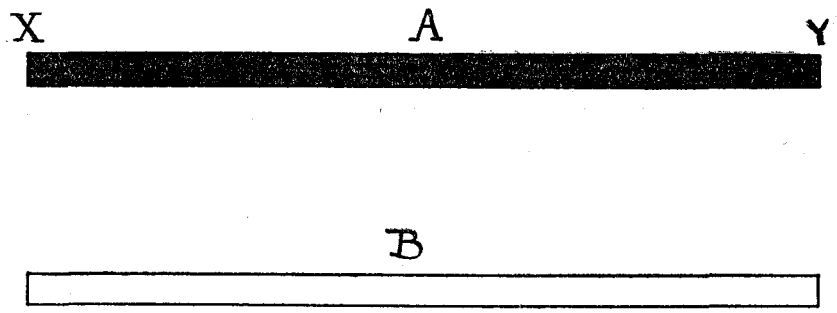

Fig. 1.

miles. In his earlier attempts to relieve Ladysmith General Buller had his troops extended twenty-five miles along the Tugela; and undoubtedly his inability to concentrate his troops at the weakest point in the enemy's lines made the attempt a failure. Had he been able to do this, had he been able to throw an overpowering force on the Boers where their defence was weak, it is a reasonable supposition that he would have been successful. But that was impossible, owing to the immobility of his army as opposed to the extreme mobility of the Boers. While Buller could move his men over the field at foot speed only, the Boers could move as fast as their horses could gallop. This power of rapid concentration increased their radius of action so enormously that their deficiency in numbers more than counter-balanced the strength of their opponents, perhaps even to the extent of five to one.

The diagram above (Fig. 1) will, I think, make this plain to

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the non-military reader. A represents the entrenched defending force with a front twenty-five miles between the points X and Y. B represents the attacking force, with an equal frontal length; the distance between the two armies being five miles. If the intervening space is open ground, with no cover, no commander versed in modern tactics would dare to send his troops forward to storm A's trenches. Bloch lays down the dictum that a decisive victory can only be gained by a turning movement. B would attempt to render A's trenches untenable by gun-fire; but the striking thing about modern gun-fire is that while it makes a great deal of noise, its destructive effect against entrenched troops is not so great as to destroy their position. The newspaper reports show that during the siege of Ladysmith 12,000 shells — an average of three tons of explosives daily — were

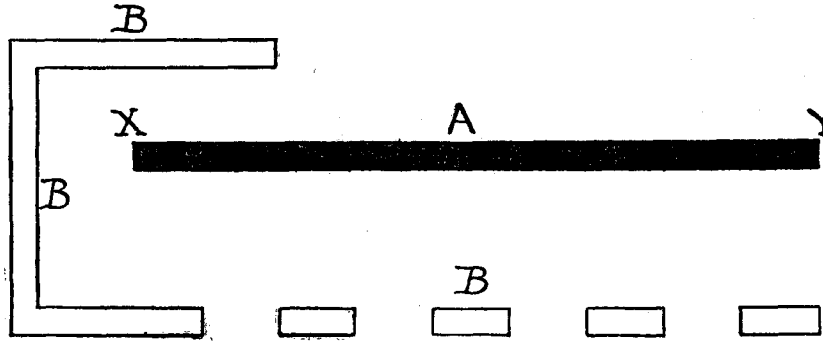

FIG. 2.

thrown into the town; yet only 35 men were killed and 188 wounded, and the damage to property was trivial. In Kimberley the bombardment was equally ineffective. Cronje, bombarded for ten days with lyddite, lost only 80 killed by shell fire. Compare this with Buller's loss of 1,100 men at the Tugela, and it will be seen that the chief reliance in the future as in the past must be on the rifle.

A frontal attack being impossible unless the assailant has an overwhelming superiority of numbers and is prepared to make great sacrifices, the only possibility of success is to make a flank movement. The flank X offering the easiest point of attack, the position would develop itself as shown in Figure 2. But a proper flanking movement, scientifically conducted, is not, as so many uninformed writers in the daily press describing operations in South Africa have assumed, the change of a body of troops from one position to another.

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If B should withdraw his troops from the front of A and attempt to attack at X, A would execute a similar movement and B would find himself facing a new front (Fig. 3), assuming, of course, that A's troops were possessed of mobility equal to that of B. The only way in which B can turn A's position is by making a feint attack in front, availing himself of cover as much as possible to prevent a useless loss of life, and throwing all the troops he can spare to attack at X (Fig. 2).

The success of this movement will depend on the mobility of B's troops; and the chances are in his favor, because the defenders will

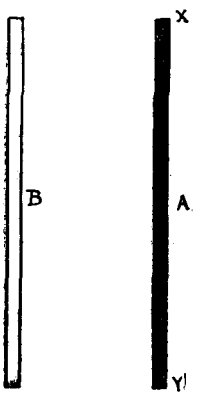

FIG. 3.

be uncertain as to the exact point of attack, and if they weaken their front, B's frontal attack from a feint develops into a real attack and A's line is in danger of being broken, while, as the point X is the weakest spot in the line of defence, B's force, if sufficiently large, can break through the flank. It will be seen from this, which is scientifically and theoretically correct and in accord with the best writers on modern tactics, that the success of the movement depends upon the speed with which it is accomplished. It would be practically impossible for B to out-manœuvre his opponent with infantry only; with mounted infantry he could do it.

Tactics will be one of the prime factors on land as it is now on the sea. The substitution of steam for sails gives to the commander whose vessel can make an extra knot over that of his opponent, batteries of both being equal, the advantage of position, of electing whether to fire or to compel his adversary to open fire — everything, in fact, that is gained from mobility. The days of Nelson and Paul Jones, when guns were fired through the enemy's ports, when ships

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lay alongside one another and grappled in deadly embrace, and pike and cutlass were the last resort of brave men, are gone with the bayonet charge and the square. The value of speed and manœuvering qualities on the sea has been recognized since the ironclad superseded wooden walls, but the essential importance of similar qualities on land is only now at this late day coming to be recognized.

It took the English four months to learn the lesson of mobility and to comprehend that men on foot were no match against men on horseback. When the lesson was learned the tide of defeat was turned into victory. Gen. French's flying column of mounted men marched ninety miles under a tropical sun in a little over four days, fought two minor engagements, forced Cronje hastily to retire from Kimberley and later surrender, and so weakened Joubert in front of Ladysmith that Buller was able to raise the siege. The success of the movement was due entirely to the rapidity with which it was executed and the way in which the enemy was surprised, and only a mobile force could have accomplished this. A slow-moving, immobile force of infantry, necessarily taking longer to traverse an exterior line of communication than was taken by the Boers on interior lines, might have crushed the enemy by sheer weight of numbers, but it would have been a more costly operation.

The value of mounted infantry against an extremely mobile force was discovered by General Miles more than a score of years ago. In his Indian campaigns, when he commanded the Fifth Infantry, General Miles mounted one battalion under command of Captain Snyder; and those mounted infantry were the terror of the redskins. Native ponies were used which had the speed and endurance of the horses of the hostiles; our men rode as light and were able to stand as much fatigue as the enemy, and the consequence was that the one thing which the Indians feared and dreaded — the one thing against which their cunning availed nothing, which disarranged their calculations — was this battalion of mounted men, which covered ground with such amazing rapidity that it could be at one point in the morning and at another point forty miles distant that same night. It was the first time the white man had shown a mobility equal to that of his foe, and it demoralized the latter as thoroughly as Cronje was demoralized when Methuen's inert troops gave way to French's flying column of rushing, dashing, mounted men, when the genius of Roberts and Kitchener created a mobile force possessed of greater power of mobility than that of their enemy.

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Thus far I have dealt only with the mobility of the unit, the regiment, but it is evident that the whole system of the movement of armies operating in an enemy's territory must be changed to give the column that degree of mobility and flexibility so necessary under the new conditions of warfare. An army corps, consisting of infantry, cavalry, and artillery, transport wagons and ammunition columns, ambulances and workshops, is a huge, unwieldy mass stretching for miles. It is scientifically wrong because it combines units of different speeds, the rate of progression, of course, being determined by the slowest and not the fastest unit. The whole column is liable to break down at any moment because of the well-established principle in mechanics that no chain is stronger than its weakest link. The weakest link in every army is its transport, and as the army must depend on its transport, since every army lives on its belly, no army operating in unfriendly territory dares to push far ahead of its supplies. Buller in his advance to the Tugela, according to a newspaper report, had a transport train five miles in length. Had the Boers possessed force enough they might have cut into the train a dozen times, causing Buller serious annoyance, if not rendering his position untenable.

It has seemed to the writer that instead of an army corps advancing as a conglomerated whole it should be divided, wherever possible, into compact divisions, each complete in itself, the various divisions advancing on parallel lines and keeping in touch with one another on their flanks. This, of course, will not be possible in all cases, but it will be frequently practicable, and the advantages over the present formation are many. With the infantry mounted, the three arms of the service, infantry, cavalry, and artillery — and of course all artillery will be horse artillery in the future — will be able to maintain a uniform rate of speed, able at any time, in case of an unexpected attack on one of the divisions, to reinforce it and to make the succor doubly strong by engaging the enemy on the flank. The present wagons used by the transport service of all armies are too cumbersome, in keeping with the slow movements of infantry, but out of place if expected to keep pace with mounted men. A few heavy wagons would still have to be retained for the transportation of divisional hospitals and other purposes; but the real work of the transport should be done by light but strongly built carts, as mobile as every other part of the scientifically constituted army. With a transport system organized on this basis, it would be rare indeed that

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men would not be properly and promptly rationed, or that there would be any danger of a scarcity of ammunition at a critical moment.

The use of mounted infantry will reduce the cavalry arm. As cavalry charges are now obsolete, the only use for cavalry will be as the eyes and ears of an army, to reconnoitre and do reconnaissance duty. But such duties can be more properly performed by scouts trained for that purpose. There will be attached to every division a corps of what may be termed "military detectives," men peculiarly adapted by training and natural qualifications to spy out the enemy, and whose functions will be to obtain information, not to fight. The purely military duties of cavalry will be performed by the mounted infantry. Bloch holds that with infantry on foot after a battle the victors are not in a position to pursue, and that the retreating force can fall back on new positions a few miles to the rear and entrench themselves. But with the infantry mounted the enemy could be so vigorously pursued that they would be demoralized and unable to entrench themselves, and an engagement would have decisive results.

General Roberts to some extent adapted himself to the new conditions. General Joubert divided his army into small commandos, and the British commanders were compelled to send their troops against the Boers held in reserve who had not been fatigued by fighting. General Roberts, in a measure, turned his divisions into commandos, each with its own transport and artillery, each effectively mobile. With a flying column of mounted men capable of cutting into the enemy and throwing it into confusion, he had a force able to out-manœuvre and out-pace the Boers. Thus, the advantage of mobility, which since the outbreak of the war had been with the Dutch, was suddenly transferred, and the possession of superior mobility led to the first decisive British success — the defeat of Cronje.

The advantages of mobility are, I think, so apparent that they need not be further discussed; but undoubtedly military objections will be raised, and I imagine the objections will be (1) the added cost of armies by mounting their infantry; (2) the impossibility of horses operating in broken and mountainous country like northern Natal; (3) the difficulties of the transportation of horses to the scene of operations, especially if the horses have to be transported over sea; (4) the increase of the length of the column caused by the room taken up by the horses; (5) the multiplication of carts and of the drivers by using two light carts instead of one large wagon.

My answer to these objections is that cost must not be consid-

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ered. War is a costly luxury at any time, and a nation indulging in that luxury must expect to pay for it. Broadly speaking, where a man can go so can a horse. When a battle is fought above the clouds possibly there will be no footing for horses; but in those rare instances the infantry will be dismounted sooner than they would be if the action were on level ground. It is to be remembered, however, that the horses are simply the transport; and if the troops have been carried five or fifty miles instead of having marched that distance, they have to that extent conserved their energy and are in better condition to fight. The difficulties of transport need not be considered. Transport is simply a question of money. If a nation has not the money to pay for transports or is unable to secure them it must not go to war. Admitting that the length of the column will be increased by the mounted troops the mobility will more than offset this. Two light carts, it is true, will occupy more linear space than one large wagon; but the distance travelled in a given period by the two carts will be so infinitely greater than that travelled by the large wagon, the two light carts will be so incomparably easier to handle, and the results will in all respects be so much superior to those of the present system, that the longer train of light carts will be as satisfactory as the heavy lumbering wagons now in use are unsatisfactory.

A. Maurice Low.

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THE UNITED STATES AND THE AUSTRALASIAN FEDERATION COMPARED.

Did any one of the framers of the Constitution of the United States of America ever picture to himself what the glories of the great republic would become? Did any one of them imagine that a century from then there would be in the republic about seventy millions of people possessing the material, moral, and intellectual advantages that the citizens of the States now possess? In the wildest flights of the most imaginative, was Spain ever seen at the feet of the States, and were Cuba and the Philippines ever seen annexed? Beyond all, did Hamilton, Madison, Jay, or any of the Federalists think that Great Britain would ever grant to great colonies in Asia a constitution framed on the American model, or that a British Parliament would ever be seen taking part freely and with enthusiasm in setting up a great federation in Southern Asia?

Who is fit to be a prophet? Who of the sons of men can lift the veil that shrouds the future from us? Do we now realize

> "The vast republics that may grow,
> The federations and the powers,
> Titanic forces taking birth
> In divers seasons, divers climes"?

Thoughts like these must arise in our minds if we consider what is happening in Australia. There are many parallelisms and many contrasts between the United States of America and the coming United States of Asia. May I be permitted to say that Americans do not yet recognize the greatness of our southern Asiatic colonies? Several able, educated, and intelligent Americans who have visited New Zealand have not been able to realize the present greatness or the future possibilities of Australasia. And if these travelled Americans have not appreciated our possibilities, what shall be said of the mass of American citizens? Let me quote some figures that may be of interest to our kin beyond the Pacific.

The United States is a big country, but in mere bigness we need not shrink from a comparison. Leaving out Alaska and the Phil-

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ippines, it is said that there are 3,025,600 square miles of territory under the Stars and Stripes. The colonies named in the Australasian Commonwealth Bill have 3,077,374 square miles — a greater area. When the United States became a nation there was an estimated white population of 3,500,000. The census of 1790 gave 3,929,214, with 757,206 of these colored. In Australia there will be at the close of this year about 4,750,000 whites. Australia has also greatly developed in agriculture and mining. She has about 100,000,000 sheep, 12,000,000 cattle, 2,000,000 horses, and 1,000,000 pigs; and her present mineral production per annum is equal to about £19,500,000. The governmental expenditure is about £32,000,000, or, say, $153,600,000, a year. There are 14,500 miles of railway which have been constructed at the cost of about $657,600,000, and all these railways are owned by the state governments. Yet, only the fringe of the continent of Australia has been settled, and that sparsely. As to its future development, who can predict? May it not in a hundred years have a population of fifty millions?

How is this vast territory to be governed? It remains part of the Empire of Great Britain, but it will be seen that there have been bestowed on its people the most ample powers of governing themselves. The kingly power in Australia is less than the President's power in the United States. Practically, the kingly power is a mere name. It has no actuality. This will be seen if the provisions of the constitution of the Commonwealth and of the different states or colonies are considered.

The Commonwealth Act provides for the following colonies being states: New South Wales, New Zealand, Queensland, Tasmania, Victoria, Western Australia, and South Australia — in fact, all Australasia. All the colonies but New Zealand have given their adhesion to the federation. New Zealand is separated from Australia by 1,200 miles of the Tasman sea, and politically it is not at present in touch with its continental neighbors.

The first contrast between the United States of Australia and the United States of America is the want of power in the Executive under the Commonwealth Act. Practically, the Parliament of the Commonwealth in its limited legislative sphere is supreme. It is true there is a veto power in the Governor-General; but there is what is called in England and her Colonies "responsible government," and the Governor-General must act, even in vetoing a bill, as he is advised by the ministers. If the Queen's prerogative or Imperial inter-

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ests are affected, then he will reserve the bill for the pleasure of the Queen. His ministers or advisers are practically the select committee of the House of Representatives. Although the Senate will have a vetoing power in legislation, that power will be of a very limited character.

To show the rarity of a veto being exercised by an executive I may state that since New Zealand has had responsible government (1854) no bill passed by Parliament has been vetoed by the Governor. Other Colonies have the same record, so the veto power is practically obsolete. A few bills reserved for the pleasure of the Queen because they were deemed to affect Imperial interests, such as divorce and bills providing for succession to property, have at times been vetoed, and their passing has been thus delayed for a brief time. But it is now a rare thing for the Imperial Government to interfere with the decisions of a Colonial Parliament. The kingly power of the President of the United States is very much in evidence. And this has been recognized by Americans. See, for example, "The Abolition of the Presidency," by Henry C. Lockwood, and the opinions of Americans cited by him.

In the United States Constitution there are three coördinate powers — the President or Executive, the Legislature, and the Judiciary. Under the Commonwealth, on the other hand, there are practically two powers, the Legislature and the Supreme Federal Court; but the Legislature looms the larger in the Act. The first contrast may be taken between the powers of the Legislature in the two Federations.

In the United States Constitution, Section 8 of Article I, coupled with Article X of the amendments, may be said to define the relative legislative powers of the Congress of the Federal Parliament and that of the State Legislatures. The words of Section 8 are more general than in the Australian Commonwealth Act: the very enumeration of subjects in the Commonwealth Act limits the powers of the Legislature. To bring the contrast before my readers I shall enumerate them. Section 8 reads:

> The Congress shall have power—
> 1. To lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises; to pay the debts, and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;
> 2. To borrow money on the credit of the United States;
> 3. To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes;

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4. To establish an uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States ;

5. To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures ;

6. To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States ;

7. To establish post-offices and post-roads ;

8. To promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing for limited times, to authors and inventors, the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries ;

9. To constitute tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court ;

10. To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offences against the laws of nations ;

11. To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water ;

12. To raise and support armies ; but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years ;

13. To provide and maintain a navy ;

14. To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces ;

15. To provide for the calling forth of the militia to execute the laws of the union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions ;

16. To provide for organizing, arming and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States ; reserving to the States respectively the appointment of the officers and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress ;

17. To exercise legislation in all cases whatsoever, over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular States, and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of Government of the United States ; and to exercise like authority over all places purchased, by the consent of the Legislature of the State in which the same may be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dock-yards, and other needful buildings ; and

18. To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this constitution in the Government of the United States or in any department or officer thereof.

The Commonwealth Act gives power to the Parliament to make laws for the peace, order, and good government of the Commonwealth with respect to (1) trade and commerce with other countries and among the states; (2) taxation, but so as not to discriminate between states or parts of states; (3) bounties on the production or export of goods, but so that such bounties be uniform throughout the Commonwealth; (4) borrowing money on the public credit of the Commonwealth; (5) postal, telegraphic, telephone, and other like services; (6) the naval and military defence of the Commonwealth and of the several states, and the control of the forces to execute and maintain the laws of the Commonwealth; (7) lighthouses, lightships, beacons, and buoys; (8) astronomical and meteorological observations; (9) quarantine; (10) fisheries in Australian waters beyond the territorial limits; (11) census and statistics; (12) currency, coinage, and legal tender; (13) banking, other than state banking; also state banking

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extending beyond the limits of the state concerned, the incorporation of banks and the issue of paper money; (14) insurance other than state insurance; also state insurance extending beyond the limits of the state concerned; (15) weights and measures; (16) bills of exchange and promissory notes; (17) bankruptcy and insolvency; (18) copyrights, patents of inventions, and designs and trade marks; (19) naturalization and aliens; (20) foreign corporations, and trading or financial corporations formed within the limits of the Commonwealth; (21) marriage; (22) divorce and matrimonial causes, and, in relation thereto, parental rights, and the custody and guardianship of infants; (23) invalid and old age pensions; (24) the service and execution throughout the Commonwealth of the civil and criminal process and the judgments of the courts of the state; (25) the recognition throughout the Commonwealth of the laws, the public acts and records, and the judicial proceedings of the states; (26) the people of any race other than the aboriginal race in any state for whom it is deemed necessary to make special laws; (27) immigration and emigration; (28) the influx of criminals; (29) external affairs; (30) the relations of the Commonwealth with the islands of the Pacific; (31) the acquisition of property on just terms from any state or person for any purpose in respect of which the Parliament has power to make laws; (32) the control of railways with respect to transport for the naval and military purposes of the Commonwealth; (33) the acquisition, with the consent of a state, of any railway of the state on terms arranged between the Commonwealth and the state; (34) railway construction and extension in any state with the consent of that state; (35) conciliation and arbitration for the prevention and settlement of disputes (industrial) extending beyond the limits of any one state; (36) matters in respect of which this Constitution makes provision until the Parliament otherwise provides; (37) matters referred to the Parliament of the Commonwealth by the Parliament or Parliaments of any state or states, but so that the law shall extend only to states by whose Parliaments the matter is referred or which afterwards adopt the law; (38) the exercise within the Commonwealth, at the request or with the concurrence of all the states directly concerned, of any power which, at the establishment of this Constitution, can be exercised only by the Parliament of the United Kingdom or by the Federal Council of Australia; (39) matters incidental to the execution of any power vested by this Constitution in the Parliament or in either house

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thereof, or in the government of the Commonwealth, or in the Federal Judicature, or in any department or officer of the Commonwealth; (40) the seat of government, and all places acquired by the Commonwealth for public purposes; (41) matters relating to any department of the public service the control of which is by the Constitution transferred to the Executive Government of the Commonwealth; (42) other matters declared by this Constitution to be within the exclusive power of Parliament.

It is not necessary to discuss the meaning of Article X, or perhaps I may say Articles IX and X, of the Amendments to the Constitution of the United States, for they must, I take it, be read together. They are:

"ARTICLE IX. The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

"ARTICLE X. The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people."

Pomeroy says of them ("Constitutional Law"):

"The former recognizes the people as the one source of all power, as they could not retain what they were not before possessed of; the latter speaks of some powers which had not been conferred by the people on its general Government, as allotted to the State. The former points out the giver; the latter, the recipients."

The great contrast then is this: The Constitution of the Australasian Federation does not attempt to touch the rights of the states save and except where expressly mentioned. The present complete powers of administration and legislation vested in the states are left untouched except regarding the subjects I have mentioned. The waste lands of the Commonwealth are left as state property: in America the lands belong to the Federal Government. The remarks I have quoted from Pomeroy are inapplicable to the Australasian Federation. The Commonwealth Act has attempted to have a real Federation, not a Unitary Government.

So far as the Judiciary is concerned the Commonwealth Act provides:

"The judicial powers of the Commonwealth shall be vested in a Federal Supreme Court, to be called the High Court of Australia, and in such other Federal Courts as the Parliament creates, and in such other Courts as it invests with Federal jurisdiction. The High Court shall consist of a Chief Justice, and so many other Justices not less than two as the Parliament prescribes.

"It has an appellate jurisdiction to hear appeals from (a) any justice or justices exercising the original jurisdiction of the High Court; (b) any

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other Federal Court or Courts exercising Federal jurisdiction, or from the Supreme Court of any State, or of any other Court of any State from which at the establishment of the Commonwealth an appeal lies to the Queen in Council ; (c) from the Inter-State Commission."

Article III of the United States Constitution provides:

"SECTION 2. (a) The judicial power shall extend to all cases in law and equity arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority ; to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls ; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction ; to controversies to which the United States shall be a party ; to controversies between two or more States ; between a State and citizens of another State, between citizens of different States, and between a State, or the citizens thereof, and foreign states, citizens or subjects.

"(b) In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a State shall be a party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned, the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions and under such regulations as the Congress shall make."

It will be seen from a perusal of these different provisions that the High Court of Australia has if anything even more ample powers than the Supreme Court of the United States, for it is the Court of Appeal from all Supreme Courts in the states.

The bicameral system of legislature is the system of both Federations. In Australia there are six senators from each State; in the United States there are two. The mode of choice of senators is different. In the United States they are chosen by the legislatures of the States; in Australia they are chosen directly by the people of the state. Both are chosen for six years.

The Houses of Representatives in both nations are chosen directly by the people of the states. The number in Australia is to be as nearly as possible double the number of senators, and the proportion to each state is fixed by the population — "shall be in proportion to the respective number of their people." If there is a remainder in a state greater than one-half of the quota an extra member is given. No state, however, is to have less than five members of the House of Representatives. In America the basis is population, though the mode of arriving at the quota is more complicated. (See Sec. 2, Art 1.) The Australasian Senate chooses its own President, the Vice-President of America is the President of the Senate.

The Senate has an initiative, so far as legislation is concerned, in all matters save laws appropriating revenue or moneys or imposing taxation, and the Senate cannot amend bills dealing with such subjects. These provisions are similar to those respecting other senates

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or second chambers in the colonies, and the result will be the same. The House of Representatives will be the dominant chamber, and the Senate will become a mere revising chamber. Nearly all the members of the ministry will belong to the House, not to the Senate, and the powers which are possessed by the Senate of the United States will be absent.

In event of a conflict between the two chambers as to any proposed legislation there is the following provision:

"If the House of Representatives passes any proposed law, and the Senate rejects or fails to pass it, or passes it with amendments to which the House of Representatives will not agree, and if after an interval of three months the House of Representatives, in the same or the next session, again passes the proposed law with or without any amendments which have been made, suggested, or agreed to by the Senate, and the Senate rejects or fails to pass it, or passes it with amendments to which the House of Representatives will not agree, the Governor-General may dissolve the Senate and the House of Representatives simultaneously. But such dissolution shall not take place within six months before the date of expiration of the House of Representatives by effluxion of time.

"If after such dissolution the House of Representatives again passes the proposed law with or without any amendments which have been made, suggested, or agreed to by the Senate, and the Senate rejects or fails to pass it, or passes it with amendments to which the House of Representatives will not agree the Governor-General may convene a joint sitting of the members of the Senate and of the House of Representatives.

"The members present at the joint sitting may deliberate and shall vote together upon the proposed law as last proposed by the House of Representatives, and upon amendments, if any, which have been made therein by one House and not agreed to by the other, and any such amendments which are affirmed by an absolute majority of the total number of the members of the Senate and House of Representatives shall be taken to have been carried, and if the proposed law, with the amendments, if any, so carried is affirmed by an absolute majority of the total number of the members of the Senate and House of Representatives, it shall be taken to have been duly passed by both Houses of the Parliament, and shall be presented to the Governor-General for the Queen's assent."

The mode of amending the Constitution is worthy of notice, for that, as Pomeroy points out, is the test of sovereignty. The Australasian mode is as follows:

"This Constitution shall not be altered except in the following manner: The proposed law for the alteration thereof must be passed by an absolute majority of each House of the Parliament, and not less than two nor more than six months after its passage through both Houses the proposed law shall be submitted in each State to the electors qualified to vote for the election of members of the House of Representatives.

But if either House passes any such proposed law by an absolute majority, and the other House rejects or fails to pass it or passes it with any amendment to which the first-mentioned House will not agree, and if after an interval of three months the first mentioned House in the same or the next session again passes the proposed law by an absolute majority with or without any amendment which has been made or agreed to by the other House, and such other House rejects or fails to pass it or passes it with any amend-

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ment to which the first-mentioned House will not agree, the Governor-General may submit the proposed law as last proposed by the first-mentioned House, to the electors in each State qualified to vote for the election of the House of Representatives.

"When a proposed law is submitted to the electors the vote shall be taken in such manner as the Parliament prescribes. But until the qualification of electors of members of the House of Representatives becomes uniform throughout the Commonwealth, only one-half the electors voting for and against the proposed law shall be counted in any State in which adult suffrage prevails.

"And if in a majority of the States a majority of the electors voting approve the proposed law, and if a majority of all the electors voting also approve the proposed law, it shall be presented to the Governor-General for the Queen's assent.

"No alteration diminishing the proportionate representation of any State in either House of Parliament or the minimum number of representatives of a State in the House of Representatives, or increasing, diminishing, or otherwise altering the limits of the State, or in any manner affecting the provisions of the Constitution in relation thereto, shall become law unless the majority of the electors voting in that State approve the proposed law."

Article V of the American Constitution is as follows:

"1. The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution; or, on the application of the Legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress; provided that no amendment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article; and that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate."

In order to deal with trade and commerce between states and with laws regarding trade and commerce there is to be an Inter-State Commission. Its members are to be appointed for seven years by the Governor-General, and are not to be removable from office save on an address to both Houses passed in one session. This Commission will no doubt be required during the first few years of the Commonwealth's history. The railways belong to the states, and with differing customs duties for the first two years, there may be some friction in inter-state trade and commerce. But when the Commonwealth becomes accustomed to its work, a Minister of Commerce will no doubt be able to perform the duties cast upon the Inter-State Commission.

From these parallels and contrasts it will be seen how the framework of the Constitution of the United States has helped the Australasian statesmen who drafted the Commonwealth Act. And on the first of January next the Australasian Commonwealth will be duly

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proclaimed and a new nation will have been born. Already the Governor-General has been chosen, and preparations are now being made to hold the elections and to have everything ready for the new government.

A careful analysis of the two constitutions will show that the Australasian is the more democratic. The people will be more in touch with their Parliament, and the Parliament will feel the power of public opinion more. Whether that will or will not conduce to the stability and progress of the new nation remains to be seen. With education diffused, with a reading people, and with no great race question such as has affected and must yet affect the American Republic, the hopes of democrats as to the future of the Commonwealth are high. If it fails, then democracy must be said to be unsuited to a people who are mainly of British descent. The foreign element is exceedingly small. The total number of foreign born, that is, citizens of countries other than British, in New Zealand — which may be said to be typical of the other Colonies — is two and a half per cent. From 1849 to 1899 only 7,199 foreigners were naturalized in New South Wales, and of these 3,563 were Germans.

The Commonwealth has practically all the powers of self-government possessed by the United States. The main links with the mother country are (1) the appointment of the Governor-General by the Queen, and (2) in some limited cases the right of appeal to the Privy Council of Great Britain from the decision of the Federal Supreme Court of the Commonwealth.

Who can predict the future of the new nation? Its people have an intense and passionate love of the mother land, as the Boer war has demonstrated. They were not colonists, that is, men born in Great Britain, who have been the majority in the contingents sent from Australasia to South Africa. The large majority of them have never seen Europe. They are the sons of colonists. Many of them are of the second generation. The fathers and mothers of many have never even seen the land of their ancestors. And yet the feeling of proud affection for Britain is as intense and lasting amongst them as if she were their mother land.

That the Commonwealth is destined to have a great influence on the British Empire cannot be denied. Already there is an Australasian squadron and a small navy. Defence will soon be perfected; and, if the views of Australasia are considered before a foreign war is waged by Great Britain, perhaps the founding of the Commonwealth

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will make for peace. And this is surely what all humanitarians desire to see. For the United States of America there is the warmest feeling of friendship. And though cut and dried political alliances may not be feasible, if there could be some informal arrangement amongst people speaking the English tongue the dream of the poet might at last be realized:

> "There shall come a time when brotherhood shows stronger
> Than the narrow bounds which now distract the world;
> When the cannons roar and trumpets blare no longer
> And the ironclad rusts, and battle-flags are furled;
> When the bars of creed and speech and race which sever
> Shall be fused in one humanity forever."

ROBERT STOUT.

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THE REVIVAL AND REACTION IN IRON.

THE iron and steel industry of America has, within the space of a year and a half, witnessed two movements, each unexpected, sensational, and far-reaching in consequences. The first was the great upward swing of prices in 1899; the second, the headlong plunge downward in 1900. The oldest and wisest in the trade did not anticipate the "boom," nor believe in it until it was well under way, and the most conservative were taken by surprise at the suddenness and extent of the reaction. The facts developed and the lessons taught by this remarkable episode invite study. The story, stated with the utmost briefness, is as follows:

A revival in the demand for all iron and steel products commenced in December, 1898, and continued without interruption during the whole of 1899. Hesitating and fitful at the start, it gained strength as the year advanced, until by midsummer there came a scramble for material, and a relighting of fires long dead, and activity and excitement reigned everywhere. Prices started upward in January, but the rise was not rapid until the mills and furnaces had loaded themselves with contracts at figures which, judged by past standards, seemed profitable. Then, as buyers found it difficult to procure needed material, and bid against each other excitedly, the advance went by leaps and bounds, until by December there was scarcely a line which had not had a rise of 100 per cent, and in some specialties it was much greater. Bessemer pig started at $9.85 per ton in "the valleys" and went to $24. Steel billets rose from $15 to $35; rails from $17 to $35; bars from $18 to $40 and $45; nails and barbed wire trebled in value. Structural steel, plates, and all forms used in construction more than doubled.

There was no abatement to the demand until December. Then it stopped short. It was as if it had been scheduled to last a year and the time was out. For the next eight months new orders scarcely reached a fifth of the tonnage of the corresponding months of the year before, and in some lines not a tenth. It seemed as if the country had glutted

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its appetite for iron and steel products, and would never consume any more. Furnaces and mills, however, were filled with contracts, deliveries on which ran for months ahead, so that the effect of suspended demand was not seriously felt until midsummer of the current year. As a matter of fact the first half of 1900 was for many iron and steel companies the most prosperous of any like period in their history.

The fall of prices started with the cessation of demand at the close of 1899, but it was so gradual as scarcely to attract attention during the first quarter. It was the general belief that the lull would soon be followed by another buying movement which would prevent any material decline. There was much to support this view, for the business of the country was prosperous in the extreme. Railroads were burdened with traffic and could not increase their equipment fast enough to handle it. Financial conditions were settled, and the effect of the new monetary legislation was already being felt. Plans for development were heard of on all sides, and speculation, though sharply checked, as compared with the industrial reorganization period of a year before, was still active. The theory was quite generally held that a period of quiet was wholesome, as it would enable producers to catch up on overdue orders and reduce the industry to a more normal and healthy state. The "reserve demand" that was being built up was the subject of frequent comment.

The real fall in steel and iron commenced in early summer, when the mills and furnaces began to run out of work and needed new orders. For a time some effort was made by concerted action to sustain prices or restrict output, but it came to nothing. Pig iron and billets began to break. Then followed different forms of finished material. But no ordinary concessions tempted the thoroughly bewildered buyers. It was not until the memorable break in bars at Chicago in early August, carrying prices down to a level below that from which they started in December, 1898, that the deadlock was broken and heavy orders were placed. Pig iron, structural steel, plates, sheets, and other forms followed in rapid succession, until, in most cases, the decline swept past the cost line, and instead of with profits makers were dealing with the problem of how to get out even. At this writing it is too soon to judge whether the "reserve demand" will now come out in sufficient volume to produce the expected reaction and again supply the furnaces and mills with adequate tonnage at satisfactory prices. The strong indications are that — barring a certain accident possible in November — it will.

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The above sketch of this memorable swing and return of the pendulum in a great industry is too brief to have value as a historical record, but it will serve as an introduction to some facts and conclusions which are very much easier to deal with in the light of fresh history than in the abstract.

The imagination can with difficulty grasp the scope and significance of a rise of 100 per cent in a manufacture which represents a billion and a half dollars in capital, and from first to last gives employment to well nigh a million of men. If the turn upward led to an enormous extension of plant; to reorganization and strengthening of companies; to increase in wages and cost of transportation; to renewed commercial life and activity touching every artery of trade, what shall be said of the equally rapid decline, compelling eventually backward steps through the whole chain? A night of revelry is a joyful thing, but alas! the headache in the morning!

The strain upon commercial honor in standing to contracts involving great losses is not the least feature of this return swing, and it may be said, to the honor of the American iron trade, that in the main it has been borne well. During the twelve months of advancing prices, furnaces and mills stood to their low-priced engagements without flinching. The large producers employed a considerable part of their capacity throughout the year on contracts that showed little or no profit; for the rapidly advancing cost early in the year swallowed up the margin which seemed so satisfactory when the orders were booked. The great rail mills, for example, were occupied till near the end of the year on contracts with the railroads at $18 to $20 a ton, when the pig iron to make them was worth over $20. A curious and familiar incident of this situation was the selling of worn-out scrap rails, taken up by the railroads, at several dollars per ton above the figure paid for the new rails to replace them. Blast furnaces, in like manner, delivered hundreds of thousands of tons of pig iron at $8, $10, and $12 a ton, according to location, when the market price was double, and when actual cost was far above the price realized.

Under these circumstances, it was but natural that on the down turn the efforts of buyers to escape from burdensome contracts should be resisted with something more than ordinary emphasis. Many contracts were broken on the declining market through inability of furnaces and mills to comply strictly with contract specifications, the legal opportunity to cancel being quickly seized. On the rise, however, buyers of material very naturally stood ready to take and pay

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for deliveries as offered, and were careful to avoid any cause of cancellation. It is estimated that less than 1 per cent of low-priced orders were cancelled by sellers on the rise, while 10 to 15 per cent were cancelled by buyers on the decline. When it is remembered that the percentage of the 1899 business placed at or near the top of the market was scarcely appreciable, certainly not 10 per cent, and that the great bulk of the output of the year was paid for at prices far below the average, the very important fact emerges that the consumers of the United States got their iron in 1899 at not over a quarter or a third above the normal prices. Now, if the legacy of high-priced tonnage for 1900 be estimated at 25 per cent of the productive capacity, and if 10 per cent of this was marked off for one or another technicality, it will appear that after all the real consuming interests of the country have not been seriously hurt by the fluctuations.

Wisdom is easy after the fact. A year ago the question was freely asked, "Will it last?" The answer to that went deep into factors that were untried under recent economic conditions. The doubtful view prevailed during the early stages of the "boom," the hopeful view about the middle, and the confident one at the last. The human mind works that way. In times of depression it is hard to believe that the good times will soon return, and in times of exaltation it is equally difficult to look for an early change toward the bad. The revival in 1899 was unquestionably due. Since statistics of production and consumption of iron began to be kept, in 1840, the remarkable record of doubling production every ten years has held good. The growth has been jerky, but an average rate of 10 per cent per annum has been maintained. In the depressed years of each decade, when production barely held its own, the theory of doubling every ten years was often abandoned as no longer applicable to conditions. But almost invariably the decade wound up with a rush of activity that carried the productive limits forward at a bound and made good the accelerating ratio. Thus:

	GROSS TONS.		GROSS TONS.
1859	750,559	1860	821,223
1869	1,711,285	1870	1,665,178
1879	2,741,852	1880	3,835,191
1889	7,603,638	1890	9,202,703
1899	13,620,000	1900 (first half)	7,642,569

Now, when it was seen that in 1898 we made and used scarcely more iron than in 1890, there was one presumptive argument for re-

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vival. It was known that the people of this great country, during the lean years following the panic of 1893, had been practising rigid economy at the same time that they were adding enormously to the national wealth by the products of farms and mines. The old stoves, harvesting machines, wire fences, bridges, railroad equipment, etc., had been made to do until an era of replenishment could not be longer delayed. When it started it fed on itself and expanded, according to well-known laws. The people of the great West especially had paid their debts after three successive years of good crops, and their purchasing power was enormous. Cities had to be practically rebuilt. The railroad plant of the country had almost to be created anew on modern lines of heavy rolling stock, road-bed, and bridges. The water-works systems of cities, large and small, always underbuilt at the start, demanded extensions and enlargement. The electrical era, with its vast diversification of industry calling for ever-increasing quantities of iron, steel, and copper, seemed to be just beginning. The results of the Spanish war called for the development by this country of important island territory — Cuba, Puerto Rico, the Philippines, and Hawaii. China, Africa, India, indeed every part of the world showed signs of a reawakening on industrial lines, and experience in late years has shown that every step of such progress heads directly toward the iron and steel supply of the United States.

Why, therefore, should not the revival last? Perhaps the right answer is that it has lasted and will last; that the quick and severe reaction of the present year is the surest guarantee of enlarged consumption and lasting demand the world over. However that may be, the lesson clearly taught by the experience of this year is that while advancing prices may stimulate apparent consumption to a high degree, the excess of speculative or anticipated demand over real consumption becomes a powerful weapon against the market the moment sentiment turns, and that the ability of people everywhere to get along without a great staple which they think is too high in price is beyond all belief.

It is the writer's conviction that the American iron and steel industry, instead of having reached its climax, is on the eve of a greater development than anything the world has seen. In support of this belief it can be said that the industry is absolutely impregnable, so far as the rest of the world is concerned. The trials of the lean years following the panic forced economies of manufacture and modernizing of plant to a point that excited the wonder and admira-

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tion of rivals of other nations. Our raw resources of ore and coal are much more abundant and are much more cheaply mined and transported than those possessed by other countries. Our labor is better, on the whole, while managing ability, that most vital factor in industrial supremacy, is admittedly superior to that of our only rivals. The result is that we can lay down our pig iron or steel billets, as well as our machinery and finished forms of iron, in Great Britain or Germany at a less cost than that at which those countries can produce them, although we pay the highest known scale of wages.

So far from there being any denial of these facts by the producers and the press of those countries, there has been of late an almost frantic expression by them of warning and alarm. We have read of days of panic on the Berlin Bourse, and of a heavy decline in German and British iron and mining shares on account of the threatened invasion of cheap American iron. So sensitive are makers on the other side that interested operators have been able time and again sharply to depress prices in England and Germany simply by a bearish cablegram from America. In Great Britain it has suddenly become the fashion of the press, led by such authorities as the "London Times" and the "Statist," to express the almost hopeless views of the future of English iron, steel, and coal as against the aggressions of their vigorous western rival. These alarmist views are in noticeable contrast with the calm confidence in their impregnable position until recently displayed by British manufacturers.

The industry with us has scarcely had time to adjust itself to the new conditions that confront it, now that the violent fluctuations of the past year are over. There are signs of confusion and bewilderment. Problems have been raised which it will take time to work out. First of all is the readjustment of costs. As the market soared upward in 1899, wages, transportation, royalties, raw materials, and every factor entering into cost followed after. The net advance in wages of coal and ore miners and of furnace labor was not less than 30 per cent. In some cases it was 40 to 50 per cent. Inasmuch as, in the last analysis, nearly the entire cost of iron is wages, it can be seen at once that the entire industry is on a different footing from what it was before the revival began. How rapidly can the upward steps in labor be retraced? Coal miners' wages, on which is based the cost of coke, are fixed by agreement in most districts until April, 1901. The cost of mining ore may be reduced to some extent here and there, but no substantial cut can be made while labor is generally well employed

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throughout the country. Furnace labor is usually about an eighth of the cost of pig iron. A reduction of 10 per cent in that is only 1¼ per cent of the whole cost.

Railroad freights rose in about the same proportion as labor. Already great pressure has been brought upon eastern and southern systems to reduce rates, but with little success. Reductions will be made here and there, to equalize conditions as between producing districts, but there is no probability of an early return to the old rates, which yielded the railroads little, if any, remuneration for the use of expensive equipment. After labor and transportation about all that is left of cost are royalties — the amount allowed for the ore and coal in the ground. Strange as it may appear, millions of tons of iron were made in this country from 1893 to 1899 from ores and fuel that did not pay the owners a farthing. In the South it was quite customary for companies owning their mines to take no account of the value of iron ore and coal in the ground. The cost of pig iron was simply the outlay in mining, transportation, and smelting the materials. In the Lake Superior region mines that up to 1892 yielded the owner 40 and 50 cents a ton royalties produced for years but 10, 15, and 20 cents. The folly of thus exhausting the rich treasures of the earth without adequate compensation was seen clearly when the great revival of demand emphasized the fact that high-grade ores and good coking coal are not of unlimited supply even in this marvellous country. A recent estimate by a high authority is that the entire available supply of Bessemer ores in the Lake Superior region does not exceed 200,000,000 tons. In 20 years, at the present rate, the high grade ores will be gone.

From this review of the new conditions surrounding cost, it may be seen that those who look for iron and steel to revert to the prices that amazed the world in the years following the panic will be disappointed. The whole labor structure must come down first, and that need not be looked for except as the result of another period of depression following a financial revulsion. Costs will be slowly reduced as the result of close management and improved methods; but it is doubtful if this generation will again deal with six-dollar pig iron at Birmingham, based on 80 cents a day labor, or with Connellsville coke selling at 90 cents at the mines.

A problem of intense interest at the moment is the export trade. We are in the midst of a contest for supremacy with those who have hitherto been the giants in the industry. Are we to have the easy

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walkover in the markets of the world that frightened English and German writers are predicting? Let us glance at the marvellous record of our progress since the uses of adversity taught us how to make the cheapest iron and steel, thereby opening the doors to the markets of the world. In 1890 we exported of iron and steel $27,000,134, and imported $44,540,413. We could not then supply our own wants. In 1895 our exports had risen to $35,071,563, and imports had declined to $25,772,136. We had turned the corner, and thenceforward the balance in our favor between what we brought in and shipped out increased rapidly, thus:

	IMPORTS.	EXPORTS.	BALANCE IN OUR FAVOR.
1896	$19,462,561	$48,670,218	$29,207,657
1897	13,835,950	62,737,250	48,901,300
1898	12,474,572	82,771,550	70,296,978
1899	15,800,579	105,689,007	89,888,428

In the fiscal year ending June 30, 1900, the exports of iron and steel were $121,858,344. For the remaining six months of the current calendar year the movement is likely to be greater than ever, extending to nearly every form of product, so that it is not improbable that 1900 will show a total of $140,000,000. Exports of all kinds for the last fiscal year were $1,370,476,158, so that iron and steel form nearly a tenth of the whole. This comprises about 30 per cent of our exports of manufactures. No such growth in foreign trade was ever before exhibited by an industrial nation. Germany, our most energetic and progressive rival, increased her exports from $811,000,000 in 1890 to $950,000,000 in 1899; Great Britain from $1,317,000,000 to $1,320,000,000; and the United States from $858,000,000 to $1,252,000,000. Manufactures formed 15 per cent of our total exports in 1875, 20 per cent in 1885, 23 per cent in 1895, and 31.50 per cent in 1900. In five years our trade with Cuba has quadrupled, has doubled with Porto Rico, has trebled with Hawaii, and with the Philippines has increased about sixteen-fold.

That there is nothing ephemeral in this use of American metals abroad is shown by the growing popularity of our goods in every country we enter, not excepting our leading rivals, England and Germany. Chicago harvesting machines are now to be seen in almost every important grain-raising district in Europe. Cincinnati machine tools fill the leading shops of Great Britain and the Continent. Philadelphia locomotives are conspicuous on the railways of England,

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France, and other countries. Indeed, the exhibit by the State Railways of France of an American locomotive at the Exposition was the cause of a stormy outburst in the Chamber of Deputies, in June last. Elizabethport sewing machines literally girdle the globe. English and German mills are now rolling Pittsburg billets and puddling Birmingham (Alabama) pig iron. The average daily shipment of pig iron from Birmingham to English and Continental ports at this writing is in excess of 1,000 tons, and would be greater if freight room were available. It should be frankly admitted that good times in Europe and Great Britain in recent years have favored this movement, and that when industrial reaction comes again there our conquests will be less easy. It is not impossible that we may be largely shut out of Germany and England proper; but the great world beyond — which those industrious nations have been supplying — will afford us a constantly growing and profitable trade.

At the moment, the British, and to some extent the German, blast furnaces and steel works are embarrassed by scarcity and high cost of coal. These facts, and the growing demands of trades unionism, are the serious dangers that threaten English manufacturers. While it is not reasonable to expect that bituminous coal will long continue to sell at $5 to $7 per ton at English consuming centres, there is, nevertheless, the best of English authority for the statement that the days of cheap coal are forever past. This opens a prospect for extensive exports of American coal to the countries hitherto supplied by England; and it has a most direct bearing on the ability of Great Britain in the future to hold against American ironmakers the field which has hitherto been admittedly her own.

The possibilities of the future of the iron and steel industry of America sometimes engage the imagination of our technical writers. If we base our calculations upon the ratio of growth of the past, we quickly run into figures that stagger the mind. Nearly half a century ago, before America had reached the half-millon-ton mark in production, Mr. Abram S. Hewitt, in an address before the American Geographical Society, predicted that the world would make 28,000,000 tons pig iron in 1895, and 48,000,000 tons in 1915. On this basis the output for 1899 should have been 35,000,000 tons, but it actually reached 40,000,000 tons, and the consumption, gauged by depletion of stocks, was nearly a million tons more. In 1890 Mr. Edward Atkinson estimated the world's pig iron output for 1900 at 40,000,000 tons. Both he and Mr. Hewitt merely used the rule of

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doubling output every twenty years. If the same law is to hold in the future, the world will require 80,000,000 tons in 1920; and if America maintains her rate of progress, relatively speaking, she will supply much more than half of it. That would mean trebling in the next two decades our already vast plant of furnaces, steel works, rolling mills, and iron foundries, as well as the product of our ore and coal mines.

The most optimistic believer in American destiny and progress can scarcely bring himself to these figures. But we must not be too hasty in rejecting them. Mr. Hewitt has been quoted recently as saying that the world is practically rebuilt three times in a century. We are now demolishing in New York the first iron fire-proof buildings erected here thirty-five years ago, replacing them with modern structures. We have scarcely commenced to use steel in ordinary house construction, Germany being far in advance of us in this particular. Every day new uses of iron and steel are found, and construction of every character is yearly growing heavier. One concern now takes from the Carnegie Company a thousand tons a day of steel plates to use in pressed steel cars — an industry unknown until two years ago. The cry in every part of the world is for more ships to transport the rapidly growing commerce. No one doubts that the United States, in spite of its poor record of ship-building, since the war, is destined to fill a great rôle in the building of the merchant marine. Those who have watched the progress of construction of new ship yards at Camden, New London, and elsewhere, as well as the extension of existing plants at Philadelphia, Newport News, and San Francisco, are aware that the Clyde and Belfast builders are soon to have rivals in the full sense of the term. A great ship in these days might almost be said to contain nothing but steel and iron. The preparations for war by most of the nations of the earth are on an ever-increasing scale, and the great mass of the materials required in the manufacture of ordnance and small arms comes from our steel works and foundries.

In a recent address Mr. Edward Atkinson, full of the spirit of expansion, again dealt with the future of the iron and steel industry. He stated that the extension of railroad lines in this country in the next fifteen years would carry the mileage from 200,000 to 300,000 miles; and President John K. Cowen, of the Baltimore & Ohio railroad, declares this to be conservative, if the construction of electric lines be included. The era of bridge building has just begun. An authority

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on this subject stated recently that the requirements of the South alone for bridge building material would enormously increase in the near future. Scarcely a railroad bridge south of the Ohio and Potomac Rivers is strong enough to-day to support a train of the new 100-ton cars with the massive locomotive required to pull them. The Southern people have been content until now to ford their streams when travelling in the country; but, in the past year or two, with steadily increasing wealth, a demand has sprung up for improved roads, and for bridges to correspond.

A hundred other illustrations might be cited of the tendency of the consumption of iron and steel to grow, not at the normal rate of population and general manufactures, but in an accelerating ratio. The progress of modern civilization seems to be peculiarly linked with iron. After eight months of reaction from an over-rapid development in this industry, it is comforting to reflect that the advance of civilization as represented by the iron industry is not likely to be interrupted in the early years of the new century.

ARCHER BROWN.

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THE ENGLISH INTELLIGENCE DEPARTMENT.

THAT branch of the War Office known officially as "the military intelligence of the commander in chief's department" was called into existence some forty odd years ago. The experience of the Crimean war had proved its paramount necessity. England entered upon that campaign in complete ignorance of the theatre of war, of its topography, resources, population. There was nothing on record and there were no means of obtaining information at the eleventh hour. One or two enterprising travellers who had penetrated the Crimea were sought out and questioned; and the British admiral in the Black Sea was instructed to send despatch vessels to explore the coasts and spy out the land. Darkness prevailed, and the allied armies disembarked on a *terra incognita*, for the French military authorities were no better informed than our own.

At the end of the war it was resolved to change all that. Such is the attitude of the British public at the end of every war, for every serious and protracted conflict throws up into strong relief the inconsistencies and shortcomings of our military system. We are at this moment promised much searching inquiry from which many drastic, far-reaching reforms are confidently anticipated. It must be left to the next generation to decide how far promise is to be borne out by performance; but it is certain that no improvements which may be shortly introduced will so justly claim approval as the now long established Intelligence Department. The latter has been much criticised during the last year. It has been blamed for not discharging functions that were wrongly attributed to it, and charged with neglect and supineness in matters on which it was seen that it had been fully on the alert. However, it has amply vindicated the wisdom of its creation, and this despite the often meagre means at hand and the difficulties imposed by narrow-minded superior administration. What the Intelligence Department has done shall now be set forth briefly; and what it may yet accomplish if its uses should be more liberally appreciated and encouraged shall also be foreshadowed.

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The beginnings of the branch were small and unpretending. It grew out of a department known as the "Topographical and Statistical," which had been created in 1855 and enlarged in 1857, in deference to the recommendations of a committee presided over by Lord Panmure. There was no room for it then under the War Office roof, nor has there been since, although the roofs have been extended so as to embrace half one side of Pall Mall. It was constantly boarded out, finding its first home in Spring Gardens, near Charing Cross, and just opposite the back door of the Admiralty Buildings. When the consistent and strenuous efforts of its officers resulted in an ever increasing accumulation of papers and a great store of maps, it moved into more spacious quarters at Adair House, next door to the Junior Carlton Club. It might have remained there had not the club enlarged its premises. The Department was accordingly expropriated and took up its residence in Queen Anne's Gate. Changes in its constitution, increasing its scope of usefulness, had already been decided upon in 1871, and two years later the Intelligence Branch was called into existence and added to the Topographical. Two years more and the Intelligence became the more worthy and swallowed up its elder, and the new name has been used now for five and twenty years.

The house at 18 Queen Anne's Gate, although of very respectable dimensions, is fast becoming too small, and the Department has already annexed another house in Carteret Street. There will probably be no further change until the final move into the new War Office, the long-wanted edifice which is to be built at last, this side of the Greek kalends, we may hope, upon the site in Whitehall. Every room in Queen Anne's Gate is appropriated and fully occupied. Many members of the staff sit together, and all available space is crammed with tables and presses, despatch boxes and official boxes. It is not easy to gain admittance to the office or even past the waiting room at the threshold. A lynx-eyed Cerberus looks at the visitor suspiciously and demands his card. Notice boards intimate how strictly the place is guarded. One recites the Act, with all its penalties, against divulging official secrets; another informs gentlemen of the press who come "wanting to know" that they must apply at headquarters — the War Office in Pall Mall — as the Intelligence has nothing to tell outsiders. Yet, whosoever brings proper credentials is welcomed, and is permitted to know something of its methods, its staff, and its ways of working.

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As constituted to-day the branch is presided over by a director, who is counted one of the assistants of the military head of the army, the commander-in-chief. The present director is Major-General Sir John Ardagh, an officer of the Royal Engineers, a man of great mental gifts and very varied experience. To clear insight he adds a well-matured judgment. He has known cities and many men, and his memory is remarkable. The last quality was surprisingly shown when he rejoined the department as chief after he had served it in a lesser post five and twenty years before. Again and again when questions have been submitted to him which he had dealt with previously, he has been able to put his finger upon the very points at issue and recount pretty accurately the opinions and decisions given thereon. He has gained his experience in many countries and in many wars; he was specially employed in Turkey after the last Russian war; he was long in Egypt during successive campaigns, and was for a time chief intelligence officer on the Suakim side; he has been on the headquarters staff, and was private secretary to Lord Lansdowne when Viceroy of India. He is much esteemed as a thoughtful writer on the more abstruse military questions; and all who have had access to his official minutes and memoranda speak of them as marvels as to concise, well-balanced, extensive information.

As the personal qualities of a chief have naturally great influence upon the subordinate staff and the business done, the heads of the Intelligence have always been very carefully chosen. Among the best were Sir Charles Wilson, Sir Patrick McDougall, Sir Henry Brackenbury, Sir Edward Chapman, Colonel Cameron, and Colonel Robert Home. The last named, whose mental gifts were of the highest order, and who would certainly have earned the highest distinction had he lived, was greatly consulted and trusted by Lord Beaconsfield at a time when European politics were much troubled and the maintenance of British interests was thought to depend upon extension of territory. Colonel Home was the Premier's chief adviser in regard to the occupation of Cyprus, and was constantly at the Foreign Office, playing a rôle then comparatively new for a member of the Intelligence Staff, but since adopted much more largely.

Next to the director is his principal lieutenant, with the title and status of an assistant adjutant-general at headquarters. The present holder of this post, Sir William Everett, is an institution in the Intelligence office; and, from his long stay there, extending now over eleven years, he has become its centre and pivot. It is no small

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matter at a time like the present, when almost the whole of the staff is "acting" or "temporary," all the permanently appointed officers being for the moment on duty at the front, that a man who, by long practice, is intimately acquainted with every detail and holds all the threads of business in his head and hands should be constantly present at Queen Anne's Gate.

Sir William Everett is simply invaluable, not only to his chief, but to the whole hierarchy of Government, civil and military. An accomplished draughtsman, his eye is ever on the map department; and his advice as that of an old professor of military drawing and topography is highly appreciated by the officers and curator. Again, he has spent much time abroad, in Eastern Europe and Central Asia. He was employed first on the Turkish Boundary Commission, and then, when consul at Erzeroum, was on the Asiatic Boundary Commission, after which he was for five years consul in Kurdistan. Other qualities of his lie less upon the surface, among them minute, painstaking patience, a keen love of accurate and precise statement, and a shrewd insight into character. Nothing goes astray under his management, no mistakes are made, no wrong figures are given out, and no imperfect information is supplied by the department. The state indeed owes it to him that the most likely men are picked up from among the many available; for Sir William Everett knows all about everybody, and can lay his hand at a moment's notice on exactly the right officer for any particular job. His registers and records contain the fullest details as to qualifications, temperaments, habits, and accomplishments. In this way the Intelligence is always excellently served. In its inner organization the most capable and suitable men are appropriated to the various branches. When special demands arise special acquirements are sought out, and the personnel of the department is supplemented, as it can be almost indefinitely, from outside.

A brief account of the subdivisions in which the office is organized is necessary for a clear comprehension of the duties discharged. First stands the director of military intelligence, who is responsible for everything. He is charged with the preparation of all information dealing with the military defence of the empire; he considers all schemes of defence strategically; he superintends and controls the collection of all facts dealing with the military geography, the military and national resources, and the armed strength of all foreign countries and likewise of all British colonies and possessions; he compiles and corrects all maps of the United Kingdom from the data

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supplied to him; he corresponds direct with all state departments upon military questions, and generally, but in a more private, semi-official manner, upon any other questions that may arise. The details of work are grouped in seven sections. Section A is ruled, like the rest, by two superior officers, and it deals with all information appertaining to France, Belgium, Italy, Spain, Portugal, Mexico, and the Central and South American states. Section B takes the British colonies, protectorates, and spheres of influence, Polynesia, Cyprus, South African Republic, Orange Free State, and adjoining native states and imperial defence. Section C, Germany, Netherlands, Denmark, Switzerland, Sweden, Norway, and the United States. Section D, Russia, India, Burma, Siam, China, Central Asia, Japan, Afghanistan, Persia, and Maskat and Sokotra. Section E, Austria-Hungary, Ottoman Empire, Roumania, Greece, Servia, Montenegro, Bulgaria, Egypt, those portions of Africa still under independent native rule, Somaliland, and Congo Free State.

After these first five sections comes the sixth, or Section F, which takes cognizance of the maps of all countries, the United Kingdom alone excepted. It is controlled by two superior staff officers, both of the Royal Engineers, assisted by a curator and a staff of clerks, lithographic draftsmen and printers. Its principal business is the preparation of maps from data supplied to it; and it corrects, improves, prints, and issues all the maps used by the army, which are also on sale to the public. As some misconception has arisen as to the duties and responsibility of the Intelligence with regard to maps, it is well to emphasize the fact that there is no obligation on the department to make surveys. It deals mainly with those provided by others. The outcry raised against it for the alleged imperfect and incomplete maps of Natal was altogether unjustifiable. The obligation to map its own territory rested primarily on Natal, a self-governing colony. It was a costly service, embracing the survey of at least the northern part, which is as rugged and mountainous as Scotland, and the local authorities shrank from the expenditure. Having regard to the possibilities of war with the Transvaal, a very likely danger ahead, it was surely incumbent upon the imperial Government to undertake the triangulation and survey of a country that might become at no remote date a theatre of war. Nevertheless, what the supreme authority neglected the Intelligence attempted with its own officers out of its own limited means.

For some time previous to the rupture great efforts were made to

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lay down the principal physical features of North Natal; but very unfortunately the district of the upper and middle Tugela could not be touched before the war broke out, and this as we know became the scene of most serious conflict. The mapping of other parts of South Africa, and even of areas within the frontier of the two Dutch Republics, was also undertaken; and it may be claimed for the Intelligence that as the war proceeded its topographical publications became of exceeding value. The map room of the department has greatly developed since its inception. It contains quite 60,000 maps, covering all countries of the world, and is kept constantly up-to-date by its careful collation and collection of new facts from explorers, geographers, and the observations of officers despatched on purpose to gather them at first hand. It is to the credit of the department that, where a few years back it depended greatly on the Royal Geographical Society, with which it has always been in close touch, to-day the Society comes seeking advice and information from the Intelligence. The map section has ever been much indebted to its curator, Mr. A. Knox — a brother of the Under Secretary of State — whose painstaking, intelligent labors have extended over a long term of years.

Section L, the seventh and last, constitutes a most valuable subdivision, for it is the library, as its distinctive initial implies. It is presided over by an officer, Captain Cromie, deeply versed in book-lore and keenly devoted to his work. The Intelligence Library is really that of the War Office, and Captain Cromie is the War Office librarian. But it was felt that the proper place for all professional works was at the Intelligence, and there they will remain until the new War Office is erected, when the library will be once more concentrated at headquarters. There has never been any stint as to the purchase of new works. It is sufficient for those in the department to make the suggestion and the book is added to the library, whatever the language or place of publication. Again, the literature of the office is much increased by the work undertaken within. For years past the Intelligence has been active in the compilation of military books of reference and in chronicling campaigns. A list of its publications is long and covers much ground: handbooks of drill and regulation, of artillery and engineering; details concerning the armed strengths of all foreign powers, and the reconnaissance of little-known countries; the translation of the great German official history of the Franco-German war; the account of our Soudan operations antecedent to the recovery of Khartoum — these are among

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the useful and instructive volumes produced by the Intelligence. No doubt, later on it will be entrusted with the history of the Boer war, which, if properly handled, should prove a monumental work. The war has been full of pregnant and surprising lessons: the story of its progress from inception to finish, based upon ample and undoubted facts, may be expected to vindicate, possibly to pull down, some reputations. It will be an onerous and responsible task, but there is no reason to suppose that it will not be both wisely and effectively performed.

The methods by which our Intelligence Department gathers together its stores of recorded information are varied in character. Some are open, some secret and unavowed. The regular reports of our military attachés at foreign courts supply much. These officers, whose qualifications necessarily include acquaintance of the language of the country in which they are serving, are in constant touch with the section of the Intelligence to which that country is appropriated. It is their duty to watch all military events, to attend manœuvres, to observe changes in armament, equipment, and in administration generally. They gain their knowledge in the first place by keeping open their eyes and ears, by studying the press, the military periodicals, and the annual war budget, and above all, by associating with foreign officers on terms of intimacy. There is, as a rule, no reluctance to help the military attaché. Foreign nations know the importance of reciprocity. They keep attachés in London who are always eager to learn. These are, as a rule, courteously treated, made free of the military clubs, are welcome guests at military messes, are invited to be present at professional functions, manœuvres, experiments, and trials with new weapons. Some attachés, both our own and our neighbors', have become *personæ gratæ* in the countries with which they have been connected often for years. Two French officers were very popular with us, the Baron de Grancey and Count Pontavice de Heussey. Many English officers won golden opinions abroad. General Swaine, who was long at Berlin, was much esteemed by all from Kaiser to junker; so was Colonel Grierson, who has just accompanied Count Waldersee to China. General Slade, for many years military attaché at Rome, was admitted to close friendship by the ill-fated King Umberto; and American officers who served in Cuba learned greatly to like Lieutenant-Colonel Lee, who shared their hardships and is now military attaché in Washington.

The task of obtaining knowledge has no doubt been greatly helped

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in this way; but a zealous officer has been known to go sometimes beyond the official channels and deal, *sub rosa*, with the secret agents that are often pressing in their offers of purveying exclusive news. There is more than one Esterhazy abroad ready to sell information true or false; and it is a well known fact that at the time Dreyfus became involved in the web which led to his expulsion from the French army, the very same matter which he was supposed to have purveyed was hawked about the Intelligence Offices of Europe. It was offered at Berlin and brought to our own people in Queen Anne's Gate. The risk is great in tampering with these unavowable sources of supply. Some years ago a military attaché at a certain Imperial Court got into trouble by listening to the specious proposal of one of these creatures. He was suddenly informed by his own Chancellory that his passports were ready, and that he had better make his way out of the country with all possible despatch, as his ambassador would have no power to protect him from arrest. Nevertheless, a good deal of confidential, not to say secret, information reaches our Intelligence Department by degrees, bit by bit, a small scrap at a time, so that all the items can be pieced together by an expert hand. There may be some matters still shrouded in mystery, a new form of explosive, or a new weapon, such as the French quick-firing field gun, which may long escape unravelling, but the desired information will come sooner or later.

How closely the changes in foreign armies are watched may be seen in the reports compiled at the Intelligence, which are issued more or less confidentially, but are yet within reach. The report for 1897, for instance, dealt at length with the efforts of the chief European powers to increase and develop their military resources. It showed how Germany had made an important change in her infantry organization by converting the 173 half battalions created in 1893 into 86 new battalions; it showed how France, probably in answer to this, had added fourth battalions to 145 infantry regiments. It said that the organization of the Turkestan infantry was occupying the Russian War Office, whose attention was chiefly concentrated on Central Asia and the Far East, not very successfully, if we may judge from recent disclosures in Manchuria. It pointed out that Turkey had carried out extensive mobilizations, and had completed an important strategic railway in Macedonia. Extracts of this kind prove how unceasing are the labors of the department, how profitable the results obtained.

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The uses of the Intelligence were very sharply questioned in the early phases of the Boer war, when the warlike strength of the Dutch republics broke upon England with painful surprise. It was declared that we were altogether in the dark as to the Boer armaments, the numbers of the *personnel*, the constitution and extent of the *materiel*. As a matter of fact, within the knowledge of the present writer, the fullest, the most accurate, information was on hand on all these points. This has now been abundantly proved by the documentary evidence since seized at Bloemfontein and Pretoria. The figures produced by the Intelligence Department before the war have since been exactly verified. The numbers that could be put into the field, the details of artillery, the character and calibre of the guns, the amount of ammunition, large and small, were rightly stated. Now, however, the Intelligence Department is willing to admit that it credited the Boers with just one more Creusot gun than they possessed, and overestimated the stores of Mauser cartridges, which were enormous, but not quite so large as reported. What was scarcely realized was the skill with which they would be used and the extraordinary advantages that the new weapons and means would confer upon the defensive in a supremely difficult country.

Taken in this sense, the much criticised remark of Lord Wolseley, that the Boers had developed unexpected powers of resistance, is perfectly reconcilable with ample knowledge of their strength. The Intelligence had been moved to search out the truth quite early in the day. After the collapse of the Bloemfontein conference the matter was taken up seriously. All available facts were collected and tabulated, and fresh ones were sought out by a number of officers despatched on purpose to South Africa. What was accomplished in the way of map making has already been told. Some officers penetrated to Bloemfontein and Pretoria, and travelled all over the Boer country. The result of these investigations was embodied in a small handbook issued confidentially to generals and staff at the outbreak of the war and entitled "Notes on the Dutch Republics."

The Intelligence does not greatly concern itself with facts and figures relative to the British army. As has been shown, its business is with those of other countries. But the defence of the empire, theoretically considered, comes within its functions; and it is brought, therefore, into close relations with the mobilization branch of the War Office, that which deals with the organizations of our landward forces to resist attack. Every possible defensive scheme has been worked

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out and lies within easy reference in the pigeon holes of the Intelligence. The proper methods of meeting a hostile descent on any part of our coasts have been formulated; the best positions have been surveyed, all necessary information has been recorded on the sketch maps; the ranges for artillery have been measured, the roads and approaches have been examined, and the capacity of each position for holding troops has been tested. It may be taken as certain that the newest proposal, that of using cyclists in strength to retard an enemy's advance, as recommended by General Maurice, R. A., has already taken its place on the shelves.

Enough has been adduced perhaps to prove that the Intelligence Department has rendered very valuable services to the state. Yet it cannot be denied that its sphere of usefulness might be extended. It is much handicapped by limited means, both as regards money and men. The work cast upon it is often costly, or it should cost much if adequately executed; yet the funds at the disposal of the office are meagre. It can command no more than a beggarly allowance for travelling expenses, which is eked out to the utmost, and made to cover the expenses of small special expeditions of inquiry — of officers sent out on a particular mission. But the Intelligence has no share or part in the secret service money allotted by Parliament to be spent without account rendered. A portion of this grant, which is held exclusively by the Prime Minister and used as he thinks fit, may now and again be allowed by him to the Intelligence for the execution of some particular service; but that department should be in a position to draw upon funds of its own. Men also cost money to the extent of extra allowances or the payment of substitutes, and there should be no stint in the supply of staff or the retention of officers of proved value to the department. Judicious development is, in short, what the Intelligence most needs — an increase of means and a larger authority. We may hope that its claim, both from past services and those yet to be rendered, may entitle it to full consideration, if ever the military institutions of the nation are revised and reformed.

ARTHUR GRIFFITHS.

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THE TAMING OF THE DRAGON.

For the horrible conditions now obtaining in China the primary responsibility rests with the Government, not with the Chinese people as distinguished from their rulers. Several years' residence at the capital of Shantung province has brought the writer into contact with all classes of the Chinese. He has many personal friends who speak to him of their country's affairs with entire freedom. The causes of the present situation are many and complicated, but the grand cause, without which the present crisis would have been impossible, is the insincerity and duplicity of the Chinese Government in its relations with foreigners. To substantiate this opinion and to suggest a new line of punishment for the offender are the purposes of this paper.

Says Dr. Martin: "'A treaty extorted by an enemy under your walls is a brand of infamy,' was a maxim of the Chinese feudal age. Often," he continues, "have I heard it cited with the addition, 'How much more a treaty signed within the walls!' meaning that China would repudiate the engagements entered into if ever she found herself able to do so." Most of the treaties negotiated with China by other powers have been, from the Chinese side, unavoidable concessions to superior physical force. Unfortunately, China's course has been the reverse of Japan's. To borrow the figure of an eminent writer: Japan is as a ship which in time of stress weighs anchor, spreads her sails, and makes boldly for the open sea; while China, thinking, though her anchors are dragging, to outride the storm, has drifted ever nearer the lee shore upon which this last great billow of opposition to foreigners is even now casting her — a hopeless wreck. Foreign intercourse was forced upon both. It has made Japan a great modern power, while China is as the clam in the Japanese fable, which hoped to escape the drag-net by closing its shell, but found itself, when it again looked out, opposite a sign reading: "This clam for sale; two cents."

Speaking of the practical failure of Lord Elgin's first visit to China, an English writer says:

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"The experience of the past should have taught the English that paper concessions mean nothing in the Celestial Empire, and that the only hope of making them respected is through the medium of a diplomatic agent accredited to the Court, who can, when occasion arises, jog the Imperial memory by timely reminders as to the disagreeable consequences of pledge-breaking."

This displays in a sentence the method of Chinese intercourse with foreigners. Whenever possible the Chinese have neglected the force-extorted treaties, and have made them the law of the land only when compelled to do so by the foreign ministers. The effect upon the people of this essential duplicity on the part of the Government has been to foster and strengthen the anti-foreign spirit, which a straightforward, honest acceptance of the treaties would have largely, if not entirely, dissipated. The unvarying attitude of the Chinese Government toward foreigners, and the course by which it has kept alive and developed the anti-foreign feeling, may be seen from the following cases. The writer purposely confines his attention to events of the past thirty years. During this period a more frank and open policy might have been expected. A consideration of events prior to 1870 would but strengthen the case.

In 1870 there occurred what has been known since as the "Tien-Tsin massacre." Twenty-one foreigners — sisters, priests, a French consul, and two Russians — besides many Chinese Christians were murdered. The steps by which this result was obtained were very distinct. The populace was aroused by placards and posters accusing foreigners of gross immorality and crime. The attention of local officials was called to these, and to the imminent danger threatening the foreign community. On June 18, three days before the massacre, M. Fontanier, French consul, made representations to Chung Hou, Superintendent of Trade and principal official in Tien-Tsin, regarding the danger of violence. No reply was given, nor were any precautions taken. The day before the massacre the "Chi Hsien," or district magistrate, called upon the French consul, and stated that unless permission should be given for a thorough examination of the sisters' establishment it would be difficult to foretell the result. On the day of the massacre, while the crowd was making hostile demonstrations, the French consul went again to Chung Hou, and could even then obtain no assistance. Mr. Gorst says:

"Subsequent investigations proved that the outrage was arranged and carried out by organized bodies, which must have acted with the connivance of the local authorities. Members of the fire brigades—which . . . are under the orders of the Merchants' guilds—took a prominent part in the

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massacre. They were aided by bands of desperadoes, known as the 'Hunsing tse', and by soldiers and Yamen followers, who were led to the attack by a Titu, or major-general."

In regard to the action of the Chinese Government after the massacre, the same author says:

"In spite of foreign protest the implicated mandarins were permitted to remain in office for three weeks after the outrage; and the common people, seeing no punishment inflicted on them, were naturally led to suppose that the act had been approved by the authorities at Pekin. At last, after protracted negotiations, the Chinese Government consented to mete out justice to the guilty parties. Sixteen murderers were executed, afterward receiving a state funeral, while their families were handsomely provided for by the Government; an Imperial edict was issued in which the massacre was strongly condemned; and finally two principal mandarins were degraded from their posts, being ostensibly banished to Manchuria, but in reality permitted to return to their own homes. The major-general, who was the principal offender, was allowed to go scot-free."

I have quoted so at length because the compiler is by no means prejudiced in favor of missionaries, and has indicated very clearly the animus of the Chinese Government.

In February, 1875, Mr. Margary, who was a fully accredited officer of the British Legation at Pekin, and who was, moreover, travelling under especial permission and protection of the Tsung Li Yamen, or Foreign Office, was brutally and treacherously murdered in Yunnan. He had gone to meet a commercial exploration party coming from India through Burmah. A joint British-Chinese commission was appointed to investigate the outrage. The complicity of the officials was held, by the British, to have been clearly established. Of the work of the commission Mr. Boulger says:

"The result was unexpectedly disappointing. The mandarins supported one another. The responsibility was laid upon several minor officials, and on the border tribes or savages. Several of the latter were seized and their lives were offered as an atonement for an offence they had not committed."

Such heads are cheap in China. If the governor of a Chinese province had no criminals already condemned to death whose execution could be made to satisfy the demands of the foreign government, he would have little trouble in finding men who, "to secure the worldly prosperity of their families, would undergo painful torture and public execution in order to shield official falseness and infamy."

After further unsuccessful efforts at settlement the British Minister, Sir Thomas Wade, withdrew from Pekin, and the Chinese were finally convinced of the serious purpose of the British Government by the naval demonstration which followed. More than eighteen months after the murder Li Hung Chang was appointed to

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negotiate a final settlement with the British minister. Even then, and after it had been arranged that the meeting should take place in Chefoo, serious efforts were made by the Chinese to have Sir Thomas Wade come to Tien-Tsin, the seat of the Viceroy, in order that the "face" of the latter might be saved, and that the Chinese might be able to claim that they were receiving a suppliant barbarian envoy and not be obliged to admit that they themselves were submitting to the British demands. The course of the Chinese officials in Yunnan seems not without excuse, when it is understood that after the signing of the Pekin Convention (October 24, 1860) secret instructions were issued to the provincial governments to disregard the terms of the treaty, a clause of which provided that the Chinese authorities *should at all times afford fullest protection to the persons and property* of British subjects.

In 1891 there was a series of anti-foreign riots in the Yang Tse Valley. Outbreaks occurred at twelve or more places. At Wusueh two Englishmen — a missionary and a customs officer — were murdered. These riots were occasioned by the circulation of pamphlets, some of them illustrated, in which most outrageous charges of immorality and barbarity were made against the Christian missionaries. One of these tracts, entitled "The Devils are Dead," contains a pretended communication from the foreign ministers to the Chinese Foreign Office, in which the immorality charged is admitted. The ministers are made to say that they enclose sixty-four different illustrations representing various tortures of the body; that they do not pretend to such high morality as the Chinese; that if these pictures are true, then it must be that missionaries, for the sake of gain, use bewitching medicine, and practise mutilation; that if missionaries are seized and put to death for these things they will not inquire into the matter too closely. The tract represents the Tsung Li Yamen as saying that, since the missionaries teach such abominable doctrines and practise such horrible crimes, they have communicated with the barbarian ministers to the effect that they must insist on the missionaries keeping the peace, and thereby order that when missionaries are found doing these things they shall be dealt with according to law — *i. e.*, put to death. Literature of this character was circulated without hindrance. Its author and instigator was Chou Han, a retired official living in Hunan. Evidence of his work was presented to the Government at Pekin, but he escaped as "a harmless lunatic," and the only official degraded on account of these riots was the magis-

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trate, who was himself severely injured while trying to save the two foreigners murdered at Wusueh.

The hostile attitude of the provincial authorities and minor officials toward foreigners has been fostered and perpetuated by the position of the Government upon the so-called "audience question." In European or American capitals the question of ceremonial in receiving a foreign minister is of very minor importance. In China it has been a source of continued strife between the Tsung Li Yamen and the representatives of foreign courts. The source of the trouble lies in the fiction of universal sovereignty arrogated to himself by "the Son of Heaven." Up to the year 1860 the Chinese Emperor had never admitted, with perhaps one exception, the existence of other than tributary states outside his empire. In 1859, while the war which was brought to an end by the Pekin Convention was still in progress, Mr. Ward, the American minister, retired from Pekin without having exchanged ratifications of the American treaty, because the "kotou," or a ceremony of the same nature, was demanded as a condition of audience with the Emperor. The "kotou," he was given to understand, had a religious as well as a political significance. One official said: "If we do not kneel before the Emperor we do not show him any respect. It is that or nothing, and it is the same reverence which we pay the gods." This ceremony consists of kneeling three times, and at each prostration striking the head three times upon the ground. Chinese officials must perform this obeisance when presented to the Emperor and remain upon their knees while in his presence. Envoys from tributary states were received thus.

In 1860, by the Pekin Convention, the Chinese Government recognized in theory the equality and independence of other nations. That this was not sincere was first shown when the representatives of the Western nations were put off on the ground of the "inconvenience" attending an Imperial reception while there were female regents. It was shown a second time in 1873, when the "kotou" was again demanded as a condition of presentation. It was only after long discussion that the Chinese ministers yielded, and three low bows were substituted. The reception was held, and it seemed that Western nations had been recognized, but the Chinese had yielded in appearance only. It is true the "kotou" was omitted; but the fact remains that the ministers were given audience in buildings outside the palace, the use of which was for the reception of tributary envoys.

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Tung Che died in 1875. His successor was another infant, and the female regency was continued. Kuang Hsu received the foreign representatives in March, 1891. No trouble was made regarding the "kotou," but the reception was held in the Tsi Kung Ke, or Hall of Tributary Nations.

The mode in which the Chinese Government has received foreign ambassadors has always, to the Chinese, carried the implication that they represented tributary states. That this outrageous condition of affairs has been allowed to continue is one of the mysterious blunders of diplomacy. Other methods have been used to preserve this fiction. Speaking of the reception of foreign ambassadors by Tung Che, in 1873, Mr. Gorst, after referring to the fact that the audience was given in a building set apart for the reception of envoys from tributary states, says:

> "The effect of the whole affair was further marred by the dissemination through the provinces of a Chinese travesty of the interview, in which the British Minister was pictured as being so overcome with fear in the presence of the 'August Lofty One,' that he fell down, on being addressed by the Emperor, speechless and trembling."

The reception of the German Prince Henry, in 1898, was thought by some to have settled this vexed "audience question;" but it must be remembered that the Emperor Kuang Hsu, who received him, was shortly afterward virtually deposed, almost every vestige of his reform being swept away. The belief was common that he narrowly escaped with his life. It was said that Prince Henry had bewitched the Emperor by giving him foreign tea to drink. The Dowager of Hsien Feng, the woman whose forty years of rule has brought China so low among the nations, hates foreigners and all who favor them.

Illustrating the preservation of this ancient idea of the Chinese Emperor's universal suzerainty, it may be said that, during the Japanese war, officials and literary people, even in conversation with American missionaries, spoke constantly of the "rebellion" of the "Japanese barbarians." The country was flooded with cartoons, showing the victorious Chinese soldiers in the act of taking vengeance on the vanquished "rebels." It will be remembered that in no engagement of importance were the Chinese victorious; but it remains a fact that, excepting in the immediate vicinity of the battle, the recurring defeats were reported as glorious victories; and when the end came it was reported that the "insurgents were quieted." The capacity of the Chinese officials to "make believe" is unlimited.

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Within the past year Chinese history has again doubled on its own tracks. The Chinese regular troops which attempted to destroy our minister and citizens in Pekin, and used so effectively Government guns and ammunition against the allies, were not in rebellion against the Empress Dowager. The attitude of the officials at the beginning of the outbreak, now nearly a year ago, was directly opposed to the maintenance of order. There is not the slightest doubt that the governor of Shangtung had under his command forces ample for the suppression of the initial rioting. He refused to recognize the gravity of the situation. When he could no longer resist the pressure brought to bear through the United States consuls, Messrs. Ragsdale and Fowler, and the French minister, he sent troops into the affected district. The officers must have misunderstood their orders, for they vigorously attacked the Boxers and routed them. One hundred or more of the "invulnerables" were left dead upon the field of conflict. Had this been followed up, it is probable that there would have been no subsequent outrages. But the governor reprimanded the officers on the ground that they had needlessly slain innocent citizens.

From this time on the governor's troops studiously avoided the Boxers. It was commonly asserted by the Chinese that no ammunition was issued to the soldiers, in order to remove possibility of conflict. The Boxers claimed the sympathy of the Government, and encampments were organized and drilled in the capital city itself. Rev. Arthur Smith, D.D., writing in the "Missionary Review of the World," says that the Manchu governor of Shangtung fostered the Boxers by his removing all officials who actively operated against them, and by his release of those who were captured, with the exception of three, who, after long delay, were beheaded. It became known later that this governor had sent a secret memorial to the throne, saying that the Boxer movement was too strong to be put down, and should rather be utilized to drive out foreigners. Soon after this the governor of Shangtung was removed; but he was merely ordered to Pekin, where, instead of being impeached and degraded, as he had deserved, he was loaded with honors and recommended to the throne, by another favorite of the empress, as an exceptionally trustworthy official. He retained office during such time as was required for the Boxers barbarously to murder one English missionary, Mr. Brooks, and ten or more Catholic Christians, besides stealing and destroying property valued at many hundred thousand taels, and leaving several thousand people homeless and destitute.

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On the appointment as governor of Shangtung of the "phenomenally able and energetic" general, Yuan Shih K'ai, the permanent suppression of the outbreak was expected; but he had scarcely taken over the seals of office and set himself to his work, before he began to have orders from Pekin not to be too rash or too impetuous, not to confound harmless militia with rebels, and the like. Dr. Smith continues:

> "As a rule, the Government has wisely forbidden militia organizations except under strict surveillance. The relaxation of its restrictions must have a settled purpose; . . . . there are still (probably in March) bold threats that in the spring there will be a forward movement, when the Boxers will advance upon Tien-Tsin, coöperating with the foreign-hating General Tung Fu Hsiang and drive all foreigners into the sea. The Government studiously refrains from doing the only thing that would put an end to the rising at once—arrest the main leaders and hold them to a strict responsibility."

To this testimony regarding the attitude of the officials at the opening of the outbreak might be added that contained in the letters now arriving from the region of Pekin, which indicates that a similar official supineness preceded the northern outbreak.

The case of the foreigner in China is not primarily against the people, but against the Government. From the beginning the governing classes — the officials and literati — have fostered the anti-foreign prejudices of the people; and at frequently recurring periods they have played upon the ignorance and superstition of the masses, instigating the riots in which so many foreigners have lost their lives and so much property has been destroyed. Dr. Martin, after fifty years' intercourse with the Chinese, asserts that if the people were unwilling to have missionaries live among them, we should have to count many more than twenty riots during this quarter of a century. That they are not incensed at the introduction of foreign goods is manifest from the vastly increased sale of foreign merchandise. The Chinese people are easily controlled by their officials when the latter act in good faith and in accordance with law and custom. Had the Chinese Government entered freely and heartily upon the obligations assumed when the treaties were signed, anti-foreign outrages would have been so few as to form a very unimportant element in diplomatic affairs.

Primarily, the so-called "Missionary Question" is occasioned neither by the rashness or unreasonableness of the missionaries, nor by the unrestrainable antipathy of the people, but by the insincerity and duplicity of the Chinese Government. Sporadic instances of rashness

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on the part of missionaries may, perhaps, occur, and some of the Chinese people are bitterly anti-foreign; but if the Imperial edicts regarding Christianity and foreigners had been "the spontaneous expression of the Imperial will," the irreconcilables of both classes would have been in a hopeless minority. The Chinese Government has fostered and developed the anti-foreign feeling both by its manner of punishing offences against foreign citizens and by its method of intercourse with the representatives of sovereign sister states. It is the chief criminal, and the one upon whom punishment can and should be visited.

The purpose of punishment should be to make it either morally or physically impossible for the criminal to continue his wrong course. Vengeance, in the sense of retaliation, is equally barbarous whether sought by a Chinese mob or by the German Emperor. The Chinese are keenly alive to moral distinctions. To render the repetition of anti-foreign outrages physically impossible, it would be necessary to divide China into very small sections, and, having taken the governing power from the Chinese, to maintain very considerable forces of foreign troops. This course would tend to the ultimate advantage of neither Chinese nor foreigners. The Manchus and the Chinese have remained separate peoples through these more than two hundred and sixty years of Manchu rule, and the Chinese are still distinctly conscious that they are governed by foreigners. How much more difficult would it be to secure the mental and moral sympathy without which profitable and peaceful European rule in China would be well-nigh, if not quite, impossible!

To punish the Chinese Government, to make it the administrator of its own punishment, and to render by moral means the repetition of outrages against foreigners increasingly impossible — this should be the policy of the powers in the settlement which must end the present disturbance. The mind of the Chinese nation will never be changed by physical force. William of Germany, having planted his banner on the walls of Pekin, may raze them and destroy the whole city, and, granting no quarter, may slay his tens of thousands. But in so doing he will but intensify the anti-foreign bitterness. In the elimination of this spirit lies the only hope for satisfactory intercourse. This hatred of foreigners in China, as in other lands, is chiefly due to ignorance. The Government at Pekin has fostered and perpetuated it by insincerity in its dealings with foreign nations. A settlement of the claims growing out of this war ending with the

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payment of indemnities and the granting of additional commercial rights to foreigners will leave the root of the difficulty untouched, and but comparatively short time will be required to produce a fresh crop of outrages. To the above must be added reforms in the Government, besides privileges and opportunities granted not alone to foreigners but to the Chinese people as well.

Although in form a pure despotism, the Government of China is exceedingly sensitive to public opinion. Reforms, the benefit of which will be felt by the people, must be demanded of the Government and guaranteed to the people by the foreign powers. The American people, acting through their Government at Washington, can make such demands and extend such privileges to the people of China. We alone, of the great powers, have seized no territory belonging to China. Our reputation for good faith among the Chinese is high. The treatment of Minister Wu by the Government at Washington will have a good effect. Reforms which will have to be forced upon the mandarin will be welcomed by the people. At the same time there are men of experience and character in the mandarinate who would rejoice to see the changes and who could lead in their execution. K'ang Yu Wei and other reformers who escaped the destroying sword of the Empress Dowager can be called on to assist the Emperor. Such a programme will be more easily carried out, because it will appear to be simply a continuation of the plans of the Emperor which his aunt, the Dowager, so ruthlessly checkmated. If the usurping Dowager be made to keep her hands off, and Kuang Hsu be given the power which properly belongs to him as Emperor, there is no reason to doubt that the proposed reform programme can be made effective.

This is not the place to suggest a detailed scheme of reform, but it may be said briefly that among the things most seriously needed are: (1) the abolition of the "kotou," which would lead to a freer intercourse between the Emperor and his officials, and would result in placing the Emperor in position to judge and act independently; (2) the sifting from the mandarinate of vast numbers of supernumeraries, who exist only for the purpose of drawing their salaries and of acting as drags to retard progress; (3) the payment to all officials of salaries sufficient for the conduct of the affairs committed to them, thus removing the present virtual necessity of levying unjust and irregular taxes or "squeezes"; (4) the reform of the Internal Revenue System, by the honest administration of which the Government

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might greatly increase its income; (5) the extension of the postal system; (6) a free press; (7) the establishment of a modernized system of education, open to poor as well as to rich; (8) the opening of the country to freer trade with foreigners; (9) navigation by steam vessels of all suitable waters, etc., etc.

Before any such programme can be suggested to the Chinese two important steps must be taken by the powers. The first of these is to dispose permanently of the Empress Dowager and her anti-reform advisers. She is the arch-enemy of all foreigners as well as of progress and reform. If she is left in Pekin, and if the men through whom she effected the "coup" of 1898 and instigated this present outrage are allowed their liberty and are retained in office, no hope of honest reform can be entertained. The second step is to reëstablish Kuang Hsu, and to guarantee the integrity of his empire, and, moreover, the world-wide discussion of the partition of China must cease. If these things are done, there is every ground to expect a peaceful revolution in China, which will be of the greatest advantage to the whole world. Only as such internal changes are wrought will the anti-foreign spirit of the Chinese be dissipated and permanent peace be secured.

LLEWELLYN JAMES DAVIES.

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YESTERDAY AND TO-DAY IN MOROCCO.

By the western gate of the Mediterranean, where the narrowed sea has so often tempted invaders, the decrepit Moorish empire has become itself a bait for those who once feared it. The Moors, whose ancestors conquered Spain, the greater part of Portugal, and even provinces of southern France, anxiously scan the horizon to discover who would conquer them if rivals allowed it. While the provincial and fanatic maintain that no power exists on earth like that of their lord the Sultan, 'Abd el 'Azîz — "may God lengthen his days and send him victorious" — and construe the presents of Nazarene ambassadors as fear-wrung tribute, their rulers are better informed, and it is dread of Europe that keeps Morocco closed and benighted. The good faith of no adviser is believed in, and a hidden motive is sought for whenever reforms are urged. If the development of mines or agriculture, the improvement of harbors or means of communication, be recommended by the representative of one power, there is always another to show why that particular concession should not be granted, why danger, not advantage, lurks in progress in that direction.

So Morocco remains untouched, save where a fringe of Europeans on the coast purvey the luxuries from other lands that Moorish tastes demand, and in exchange take produce that would otherwise be hardly worth the raising. Even here the foreign influence is purely superficial, failing to affect the lives of the bulk of the people; and the towns in which Europeans reside are so few in number that whatever influence they do possess is limited in area. Moreover, Morocco has never known foreign dominion, not even that of the Turks, who have left their impress on the neighboring Algeria and Tunisia. None but the Arabs have succeeded in obtaining a foothold among its Berbers, and they, restricted to its plains, have long become part of the nation. Thus Morocco, of all the North African kingdoms, has always maintained its independence, and, in spite of the changes around, continues to live its own picturesque life.

Picturesque it certainly is, with its flowing costumes and primi-

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tive homes, both of which vary in style from district to district, but all of which seem as they must have been for thousands of years. Without security for life or property the mountaineers go armed. They dwell in fortresses or walled-in villages, and are in constant war with each other. On the plains, except in the vicinity of towns, the country people group their huts around the fortress of their governor, within which they can shelter themselves and their possessions, in time of war. No other permanent erection is to be seen on the plains, unless it be some wayside shrine which has outlived the ruin fallen on the settlement to which it once belonged, and is respected by the conquerors as holy ground. Here and there gaunt ruins rise, vast crumbling walls of concrete which have once been fortresses, lending an air of desolation to the scene, but offering no attraction to historian or antiquary. No one knows even their names, and they contain no monuments. If ever more solid remains are encountered they are invariably set down as the work of the Romans.

Yet Morocco has a history, an interesting history, indeed, one linked with ours in many curious ways, as is recorded in scores of little-known volumes. It has a literature amazingly voluminous, in view of the slight interest of Europe therein at present; but there were days when the relations were much closer, if less cordial — the days of the Crusades and the Barbary pirates, the days of European tribute to the Moors, and the days of Christian slavery in Morocco. Constantly appearing brochures in many tongues then made Europe acquainted with the horrors of that dreadful land. But these only served to augment the fear in which its people were held, and to deter the victimized nations from taking action which would quickly have put an end to it all and demonstrated the inherent weakness of the Moorish empire.

Welshmen and other Celts of Great Britain may recall with interest the curious fact that Suetonius Paulinus in successive years proceeded against the Berbers of Morocco, and also against the Brigantes of Britain, those other savages who, by their independent spirit, gave the Romans so much trouble. Then there comes the somewhat dubious account of John Lackland's appeal to his contemporary of Morocco for assistance against the Pope and the barons, with his offer to embrace Islam in return, so scornfully rejected by the sceptical Ameer. Sympathy is stirred by the martyrdom of Englishmen and Irishmen, Franciscan missionaries to the Moors, and side by side with them the foreign mercenaries in the native service, Englishmen among them, who would

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fight for any one for pay and plunder, even though their masters held their countrymen in thrall. And thrall it was, as of Israel in Egypt, when our sailors were chained to galley seats beneath the lash of a Moor, or when they toiled in broiling sun erecting the grim palace walls of concrete which still stand as witnesses of those fell days. Bought and sold in the market like cattle, Europeans were more despised than negroes, who at least had the good sense to acknowledge Mohammed as their prophet and to accept their lot without attempting to escape.

Dark days were those for the honor of Europe when the Moors inspired terror from the Balearics to the Scilly Isles, and when their rovers swept the seas with such effect that all the powers of Christendom were fain to pay them tribute. Large sums of money went, too, in ransoms, collected at church doors and by the sale of indulgences, conveyed by the hands of intrepid friars, noble men who risked all to relieve those slaves who had maintained their faith and had scorned to accept a measure of freedom as the reward of apostasy. Thousands of English and other European slaves were liberated through the assistance of friendly letters from royal hands, as when the proud Queen Bess addressed Ahmad II, surnamed "the Golden," as "Our Brother after the Law of Crown and Sceptre," or when Queen Anne exchanged compliments with the bloodthirsty Ismá'ail, who ventured to ask for the hand of a daughter of Louis XIV.

In the midst of it all, when that wonderful man with a household exceeding Solomon's and several hundred children had reigned forty-three of his fifty-five years, the Portuguese, in 1662, transferred their possession of Tangier to England. For twenty-two years the "castle in the streights' mouth," as General Monk has described it, was the scene of as disastrous an attempt at colonization as we have ever known: misunderstanding of the circumstances and mismanagement throughout; oppression, peculation, and terror within as well as without; a constant warfare with incompetent or corrupt officials within, and with besieging Moors without, till at last the place was given up in disgust, and the expensive mole and fortifications destroyed lest others might seize what we could not hold.

Such events could only lower the prestige of Europeans, if, indeed, they possessed any in the eyes of the Moors, and the slaves up country received worse treatment than ever. Even the ambassadors and consuls of friendly powers were treated with indignities almost beyond belief. Some were imprisoned on the slightest of pretexts, all had

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to appear before the monarch in the most abject manner, and many were constrained to bribe the favorite wives of the Ameers to secure their requests. It is still the custom for the state reception to take place in an open courtyard, the ambassador standing bare-headed before the mounted Sultan, under his imperial parasol!

Yet the improvement which has taken place in the position of foreigners in Morocco during the past hundred years is amazing in the light of all they have suffered there, so amazing that it requires an effort to realize that this is still the same country, under the same native rule. While piracy continued to flourish nothing could be done, but when it was exterminated the situation commenced to improve; and to the young Government of the United States belongs the honor of dealing the first decisive blow. Colonies which had with true British pluck refused to tolerate the imposition of unfair demands by their home government were not likely to submit to the payment of tribute to a decrepit African state, whatever the powers of the Old World might do; so when the time came to enter into relations with the Moors as an independent nation, it could only be upon the basis of equality, and from the first the Americans obtained respect in Morocco. As late as 1790 the brutal Sultan El Yazeed, who emulated Ismá'ail the Bloodthirsty, did not hesitate to declare war on all Christendom save England, agreeing to terms of peace only on the basis of tribute. Coöperation between the powers was not then thought of, and one by one they struck their bargains.

But the New England Republic, flushed by a successful war of independence, and with no interests at stake in Morocco, could afford to snap its fingers single-handed in the face of the Sultan. In 1803, when on his way to Tripoli to demand redress for cutting down the flagstaff of his nation there, United States Commodore Preble captured the Moorish frigate Meshboa, with an American vessel in tow, and at once shaped his course for Tangier. A treaty of friendship had been concluded in 1787 by a United States ambassador, Barclay. It was to last fifty years, which it did, for Preble obtained redress and the liberation of all American prizes. These prizes had been captured in accordance with one of the usual declarations of war, made in 1802; but Preble's prompt action showed the Moors that the friendship of such a nation was to be preferred to its enmity, since the latter did not take the usual convenient form of paying to be let alone.

It is greatly to be regretted that such an excellent precedent was

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not maintained, for it would have made the United States arbiters of the fate of the empire, if not its trusted allies. No European power can raise a finger in Morocco without also raising jealousy and opposition from its rivals; but the position and policy of "Uncle Sam" has till recently placed him beyond suspicion of designs upon this country, and he might have had a free hand in its regeneration. His only attempt to encroach upon its territories was the request made in 1836 for a coaling station on the Straits of Gibraltar, which was of course refused. His fifty-year treaty was then renewed by Leir, but from that time his changing office-bearers seem to have lost all interest in the country. For many years the United States was ably represented by the late Colonel F. A. Mathews, who maintained the prestige of his people rather by experienced tact than by threats; but when political wire-pullers succeeded in obtaining the post for a party nominee, the Stars and Stripes were dragged in the mire, and the Moors learned to despise the "Great Country."

Notwithstanding all the complaints that reached the State Department at Washington, no redress could be obtained, and only official white-washing resulted. At last Morocco reeked with charges and allegations against the United States consul; and the Moorish Government, unable to put up with him any longer, telegraphed to President Harrison, in 1889, demanding his recall. It is true that this request was at once acceded to, and the recall made by wire next morning; but the Moorish Government received no other answer than a visit from the consul at Gibraltar, who was sent to arrange for a temporary substitute. Nor was any notice taken of its formal letter of complaint and explanation, of which the telegram was an epitome, penned by the writer. Such behavior on the part of the officials of the State Department was a grave political error, as the least they could have done for their national honor would have been to order a public trial, that the accused might have been cleared or punished, and the credit of the nation saved.

A curious attempt at bluff was made by the consul in question when the Moors began to disregard his threats and to formulate their own complaints against him. The commissioner for foreign affairs in Tangier, Sid Haj Mohammed Torres, through whom passed all negotiations with the outside world except when a special mission went up to court, refused attention to certain claims made by the United States consul, on the ground that they were manifestly unjust. The consul thereupon threatened that if his demands were not attended

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to by a given date he would summon two vessels of war; and he later fixed the date on or about which they were to arrive and, if need be, bombard the town. This sounded formidable till it was pointed out that the local English paper had mentioned some weeks previously that two American training ships had sailed for the Old World, and that about the date mentioned they would be due at Tangier.

A new complexion was thus put on the matter, and the consul was promptly informed that he would no longer be permitted to extend the protection of the American flag to any one who could pay his price for the privilege, or to have Moorish subjects arrested and thrown into jail without trial — a courtesy quite commonly shown to foreign representatives in this happy-go-lucky land — and that if he continued to sell customs passes, intended to cover only his own personal effects and provisions, for the smuggling in of contraband goods, that privilege would be withdrawn from him and the cases in question searched. Consequently, when the next case of arms was taken from the bonded stores under his order, the customs administrators refused to pass it unopened. The consul, having been notified, arrived on the scene with the Stars and Stripes, supported by a posse, with whose help he declared his intention to seize the case. But the lieutenant-governor — now the governor of Fez — was there before him with the police, and the rash American had to content himself with wrapping the case in the flag and protesting against the insult. It was at this point that Moorish patience gave out, and that afternoon his recall was demanded by wire.

Conduct of this character has been woefully common in Morocco, where the wholesale corruption among the native officials seems to have contaminated some of the cleverest foreigners sent among them; the facilities for profitable abuses proving too great a temptation, especially when the salaries were ridiculously inadequate, as in the case of the American representatives, or where the tenure of office was as uncertain. But the introduction of the press has cast a light on these dark places, and the abuses committed by foreigners have in consequence diminished. Those chargeable to natives will continue so long as Mohammedanism holds sway; for, with all its commendable features, and they are many, a religion in which bad deeds may be counterbalanced by good ones can never lead to general happiness. It is too essentially selfish, and leaves its votaries free to commit what evil they will, with a clear conscience.

Such a system has free play in Morocco, where it is untrammelled

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by Christian ideas and by institutions based on Christian ethics. Everything here is the outcome of native character, modelled by the influence of Islám. Every man for himself is the principle; and, in consequence, every man's hand against his neighbor, if not against his brother, save where it is better policy to live as friends and allies. No man hesitates to tell a lie when it suits his purpose, and nothing strikes a Moor more forcibly than when he finds a foreigner to be a man of his word; but it is due to him to say that his inherent sense of what is right enables him to appreciate that quality when found. Among themselves the people of Morocco do not look for it, although they commonly preface any lie more astounding than usual by the exclamation, "May God curse the liar!" Consequently, a man's words are weighed by what his hearers know or think they know of his intentions. To people brought up in an atmosphere of truth, where truth is spoken for truth's sake, this may well appear incomprehensible.

No surprise will therefore be felt that in Morocco each official preys upon the one beneath, and on all others within his reach, till the poor, oppressed, and helpless villager lives in terror of them all, not daring to display signs of prosperity for fear of tempting plunder. Merit is not the key to positions of trust and authority, and few such are sufficiently paid to render them attractive to honest men. The holders are expected in most cases to make a living out of the pickings, and are allowed an unquestioned run of office till they are presumed to have amassed sufficient to make it worth while to treat them as they have treated others, when they are called to account and relentlessly "squeezed." The only means of staving off the fatal day is by frequent presents to those above them, wrung from those below. A large proportion of Moorish officials end their days in disgrace, if not in dungeons, and some meet their end by being invited to corrosive sublimate tea, a favorite beverage in Morocco — for others. Yet there is always a demand for office, and large prices are paid for posts affording opportunities for plunder.

The Moorish financial system is of a piece with this method. When the budget is made out, each tribe or district is assessed at the utmost it is believed capable of yielding, and the candidate for its governorship who undertakes to get most out of it probably has the task allotted to him. His first duty is to repeat on a small scale the operation of the Government, informing himself minutely as to the resources under his jurisdiction, and assessing the subdivisions so as to bring in enough for himself and to provide against contingencies,

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in addition to the sum for which he is responsible. The local sheïkhs, or head-men, similarly apportion their demands among the individuals entrusted to their tender mercy. The richer a man is the less proportion he will be made to pay, for he can make it so agreeable — or disagreeable — for those entrusted with a little brief authority. It is the struggling poor who have to pay or go to prison, even if to pay they have to sell their means of subsistence.

Three courses lie before this final victim — to obtain the protection of some influential name, native or foreign, to buy a "friend at court," or to enter Nazarene service. But native friends are uncertain and hard to find, and, above all, they may be alienated by a higher bid from a rival or from a rapacious official. Such affairs are of common occurrence, and harrowing tales might be told of homes broken up in this way, of tortures inflicted, and of lives spent in dungeons because display has been indulged in, and because an independent position has been assumed under cover of a protection that has failed. But what can one expect with such a standard of honor?

Foreigners, on the other hand, seldom betray their protégés, although to their shame be it mentioned that some in high places have done so, wherefore their protection is in greater demand, besides which it is more effectual, as coming from outside, while no Moor, however well placed, is absolutely secure in his own position. In contrast with the state of things a century ago there is nothing in Morocco more striking than the change which has come over the treatment of foreigners in this country. The slave and the trader have passed into oblivion; and their place has been taken by tourists and merchants who demand and obtain their rights with a high hand, supported by the appearance of gunboats in Moorish waters, brooking no denial. True it is that Moorish diplomacy drags out negotiations to desperation, and promises without the slightest intent to fulfil, and that it is almost impossible to secure attention to small complaints or the collection of debts till there is an accumulation sufficient to justify threats; but in the long run everything is settled up in some form, in spite of procrastination. Consequently, foreigners enjoy in Morocco all the security of their own lands, and, being exclusively under the jurisdiction of their own officials, all the justice of their own laws. They do not even find in Morocco that immunity from justice which some ignorant writers of fiction have supposed; for unless a foreigner abandons his own nationality and creed, and buries himself in the interior under a native name, he cannot escape

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the writs of foreign courts. In any case the Moorish authorities will arrest him on demand, and hand him over to his consul, to be dealt with according to law.

The colony of refugees which has been pictured by imaginative raconteurs is therefore non-existent. Instead, there are growing colonies of business men, officials, missionaries, and a few retired residents, quite above the average of such colonies in the Levant, for instance. They may travel freely and safely wherever the Sultan's absolute authority extends; and the only parts forbidden are those which Moors themselves dare not penetrate unguarded, among the semi-independent Berbers of the hills. Not only are the lives and property of foreigners much safer than those of natives, but the same protection is extended by treaty to natives in their employ, and in a measure to all natives in whose hands their interests lie. Thus it is that the down-trodden natives desire and are willing to pay for protection in proportion to their means; and it is this power of dispensing protection which, though often abused, does more than anything else to raise the prestige of the foreigner, and in turn to protect him.

Bigoted and fanatical the Moors may show themselves at times, but they are willing enough to be friends with those who show themselves friendly. And, notwithstanding the way in which the strong oppress the weak, as a nation they are by no means treacherous or cruel; on the contrary, the average Moor is genial and hospitable, does not forget a kindness, and is a man whom one can respect. Yet it is strange how soon a little power, and the need for satisfying the demands of his superiors, will corrupt the mildest of them; and the worst are to be found among those families who have inherited office. The best officials are those chosen from among retired merchants whose palms no longer itch, and who, by intercourse with Europeans, have had their ideas of life broadened. But the growth of the foreign colonies in the ports, especially in Tangier, where there are several thousands of poor Spaniards, has not proved beneficial to the natives, who are fast learning from them to add drunkenness to other vices. Even tourists sometimes indulge in the disreputable practice of imparting the vice to their servants and guides. Elsewhere the Moors are in this respect a temperate race, obeying the Koranic injunction against gambling and strong drink far more faithfully than do many of their co-religionists farther east.

Among themselves the Moors may quarrel and oppress one another; the more powerful tribes may refuse to submit to unjust taxa-

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tion, and may rise against the Government; but if anything could unite the disjointed elements and reconcile them to their lot it would be a European invasion, which they would resist to a man, however ineffectually. Morocco is no ripe fruit about to fall into anyone's mouth, nor is it a "sick man" of the west in need of an heir. Nothing that goes on here, or is likely to transpire, can be made a reason for foreign designs upon its integrity, however well it may afford an excuse to any who have made up their minds to annex it. The fate of Morocco hangs on the fate of Europe: so long as the balance of power remains as it is, its rulers need have no fear; but let that balance be upset, let the hands of England and Germany be tied and those of France be free, and without a doubt France will complete the work she has begun, for which she has been preparing for years, that she may add Morocco to Algeria, and take another step toward a North African empire.

Since her defeat at American hands, Spain, which used to loom so large across this narrow strait, has dropped out of the count, and no other nation has really cherished designs running counter to those of France. Great Britain cares only for the preservation of a free highway to the East; and were France willing to come to terms regarding the shore of the strait she would doubtless have a free hand elsewhere. Her unjustifiable annexation of the oases of Tuat and Figig, this spring, that she might have a highway to Timbuctoo, is only the beginning of the end, and would doubtless have proceeded further if the Transvaal war had not ended in Britain's favor. As it is, she is content to wait till another deal shall afford another opening. These oases being merely tributary provinces, at a great distance from the centre, the Moorish empire has suffered no serious loss, and its Government will take no further action, wisely recognizing the hopelessness of its position. Serious indignation has most naturally been roused among the people of Morocco, especially in the south, where attempts have been made to stir up a jehad against the invaders, but in vain, and the colors of the map may as well be changed now as at any time later.

This has been a momentous year for Morocco, and it is little short of marvellous that the storm has not broken at last. Since the death of the late Sultan, in 1894, the administration has been controlled in the name of Mulai 'Abd el 'Azîz, a minor, by a Regent who was formerly Lord High Chamberlain or "Curtain" of the Shareefian throne, and it was becoming a serious question whether he would

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ever be willing to abandon such power when his master should attain his majority. For this there is no fixed age, as with us; but as the young Sultan reaches the age of twenty this year, it was felt to be high time that he should assume control, and cease to be an unknown quantity behind a Regent. The rule of that Regent, too, was severe; and though he had succeeded in quelling all opposition to the young Sultan, it had been at the cost of much devastation and bloodshed, hard to forgive. Besides this, the wazeers whom Mulai el Hasan had left in office were all thrown in prison on one charge or another, and their property confiscated, so that in case of trouble elements of discord were not lacking.

But the Regent was old, and enfeebled by illness; so when, in the spring, his end came, instead of his resignation, few were astonished. What they were not quite prepared for, however, was the clearing of the board within a week or two by the removal of two brothers and a cousin, whom he had promoted to be respectively Commander-in-Chief, Chamberlain, and Master of the Ceremonies — all of them, it is declared, by influenza. Another brother had died but a short while before; and the Commissioner sent to Tangier to arrange matters with the French was found dead in his room — from asphyxia caused by burning charcoal. Thus was the Cabinet dissolved, and the only remaining member has since resigned. What will be the policy of the new driver with his new team it is impossible to foresee; but the former ministers are being liberated, and justice is promised throughout. The Moors hope great things of their Sultan, now that he has come forward; and if only a tithe of what they expect is realized they will be most fortunate. The questions now are, Will he lean to native or to foreign advisers? and if to the latter, To which of them may he look for disinterested advice?

BUDGETT MEAKIN.

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CHAUCER.

THE twenty-fifth day of October of this year was the five-hundredth anniversary of the death of that "well of English undefiled," "rose of rhetores all," and "God of shepherds," Geoffrey Chaucer. So, at this semi-millennial, notwithstanding the dangers one incurs in venturing upon such beaten ground, it seems peculiarly fitting again to

> "Call up him that left half-told
> The story of Cambuscan bold."

Chaucer is the earliest English poet who, without the careful preparatory study of historic conditions and bygone phases of language, can be fairly appreciated by the lay reader of to-day. The form of Chaucer does not rise in the mind of such a reader like some ghostly Sordello,

> "Compassed murkily about
> By ravage of six, long, sad, hundred years."

Many people nowadays still think him not only a very great author, but a very good fellow as well. This is a rare sort of literary distinction in any age, and especially was it so in Chaucer's time.

The literary ideals of Chaucer's contemporaries find, perhaps, their most typical expression in the first part of the "Romance of the Rose." The art of this was unreal and thin-blooded, badly vitiated by the mediæval, scholastic vice of abstraction from life. Its chief tendency was to lifeless allegory, and its composition has the strange, stiff constraint, with only a little of the old-world charm, of the groups on a faded tapestry. In England Layamon, Langland, and the unknown author of "Sir Gawayne and the Grene Knight" had given some touch of life to their writings; but it remained for Chaucer to depict vivid human passion, to portray real men and women, and to make his art not only display his learning and ingenuity, but actually to express himself. So we come to know him, to admire him, and, with Sidney, to wonder how he could see so clearly in that misty age.

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It is not the purpose of the present paper to dwell long upon the obvious and familiar excellencies of Chaucer's poetry, in diction, versification, and character drawing. His English is fresh and bright from the mint of popular speech, untarnished by the dust of schools, and with its imaginative, picturesque quality still unworn by common use; yet, to change the figure, it has something of the sonorous resonance, the mellow, canorous flow which can only come to a language which has passed the first stages of its development. His versification, built up as it is upon the old English stavic system native to our speech, with the assimilation of French line movements, Italian stanzaic harmonies, and mediæval Latin rhymes, has the ease, variety, and melody of the most impeccable poetic art. The content of his work has charms equally engaging. The vernal freshness of his page, the sunlit, morning air of it; the sly, kindly humor, capable of the broadest or of the most delicate effects, apparent to the most casual reader, yet so subtle and exquisite that new turns of delight continually open before you as you read and reread; the incomparable gift of readable narrative; the rare power of grasping the essentials of character and of vivifying them in verse — all these attractions are well known to his readers. These are the traits which have given Chaucer his increasing fame through half a thousand years. It is largely because of these traits that many Chaucerians have almost a personal sympathy in Dunbar's lament:

> "He [death] hes done peteouslie devour
> The noble Chaucer of makaris flouir
> The Monk of Bery, and Gower, all three
> *Timor mortis conturbat me.*"

The good wine of the "Canterbury Tales," in particular, needs no critical bush. They contain all types of the literature of their age; the Theophrastian character sketch, the romance of chivalry, the *fabliau*, the beast-story, the Italian legend, the homily, the traveller's tale of magic, and the Breton *lai*. In each the essentials of the form are carefully observed; yet so vivid and human is the treatment that we bring to each an interest as keen as that which we take in the most exacting contemporary fiction. We must agree with Blake, that "as Newton numbered the stars and as Linnæus numbered the plants so Chaucer numbered the classes of men." Indeed, with the exception of certain types born of the period of which Blake himself was a prophet, we shall have far to seek for an Englishman whose *genus* and *species* cannot be found in the "Canterbury Tales."

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But one suspects that in popular judgment the prime attractions of the "Tales" are the mellow humor which they share with Fielding and the forcible realism which they share with Hogarth. As usual, of course, the popular judgment is, in the main, correct; but to emphasize this phase too exclusively is to overlook the half of Chaucer's work altogether, and to neglect in all of it some of the most significant and poetical elements in Chaucer's character as a man and as an artist. It is with these more fugitive and gracious charms that the present quest is chiefly concerned.

If we contemplate the familiar Chaucer portrait preserved by the piety of Hoccleve, we shall see many things beside elfish roguishness. It has, to be sure, its streak of Puck; it is sensuous and slyly meditative; but perhaps the dominant traits of feature are those of the kindly, humane scholar. There are lines of hard study about the eyes, which, as we know from Chaucer's own confession, were often dazed from long poring over some favorite volume. We feel instinctively that there was in Chaucer, as in Lamb, an attractive union of a temper genial, fanciful, and gay, with the habits of the insatiable bookworm. However, it takes but little study of his work to conclude further that he was no such desultory, bee-like reader as Lamb.

If Chaucer was not, like Virgil, Dante, or Milton, one of the great poet-scholars of the world, it was chiefly because he was of a little more lively and gregarious mood than they. His bookishness was, as we know, corrected and prevented from being mere ineffective pedantry by his travels and fighting, his diplomatic labors, and his many-sided activity as a man of affairs; but it is easily possible to insist too much upon this practical aspect of Chaucer's character. He was efficient in these many directions because, like Lowell, he was a man of great and adaptable mental power; his genius was dynamic rather than potential; but still, after all, his point of view was always that of the retrospective scholar and artist:

> "For out of olde feldes as men seith
> Cometh al this newe corn fro yere to yere,
> And out of olde bokes in good feith
> Cometh al this newe science that men lere."

In his work as a conscious artist Chaucer has a similar point of view — that of academic or cultivated as opposed to primitive literature. Through the spectacles of books he sees the past life of the world as an organic whole. He re-works the literature of the past and puts it out clearly stamped, *Geoffrey Chaucer me fecit.* Hence,

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some Continental critics once made haste to accuse him of plagiarism on the score of his borrowings from Ovid, Statius, Boccaccio, Petrarch, Jean le Meung, De Guilleville, and the many others upon whom he drew. To make such a charge in the spirit of blame is to abdicate all pretensions to the historic sense. In Chaucer's time literary conveyance, justified by ancient tradition, was not a crime, but a virtue. The literary past was regarded as a store-house of "jewels five words long," an arsenal of literary ammunition, to which he that could make the best use had the best right. We may say of our old poet as Browning said of Tennyson: "Accuse Chaucer of plagiarism! We would as soon think of accusing the Rothschilds of picking pockets, or Crœsus, who lived before pockets were."

This sixth, retrospective sense of Chaucer's finds expression throughout his work. We see, for example, his various gleanings from the close study of the Neoplatonists, Boethius, and Macrobius. All of Chaucer's characters, even to the Wife of Bath and Dan Chaunticleer himself, talk copious philosophy; they reason of necessity and freedom, and other high, supra-lunary matters, quite in the vein of Boethius. In all his later work we can see how Chaucer's toiling at the ornate Latinity of Boethius helped his own precision of diction and variety of syntax. But Chaucer's debt to mediæval and pagan antiquity is greatest in the realm of imaginative literature. It was of right that he bade his "Troilus and Cressida," his "litel book,"

> "Subgit be to alle poesye
> And kis the steppes wher-as thou seest pace
> Virgile, Ovyde, Omer, Lucan, and Stace."

This leads us directly to what from the present point of view is the very core of Chaucer's historic significance, the set of facts which throws the most broadcast light upon his poetical character, namely, his relation to early, pre-Renaissance humanism.

Here again we shall be helped by the portrait. The face, if we inspect it closely, is that of a Euphues; not the fanciful, precious, word-dallying Euphues of Lyly, but he of Plato, whose study of *music*, in the Platonic sense of all the liberal arts of life and learning, has made him sound in science, humane in temper, graceful and copious in speech, indeed a Euphues — a *fair nature*. It is this urbane cast of Chaucer's countenance which makes it the opposite of the hell-worn face of Dante, so essentially mediæval in all its lineaments. It is by this physical contrast, which may be drawn out at

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length in the study of Chaucer's work, that we know him, like Abelard, Boccaccio, and Petrarch, to have been one of those precursors of the Renaissance whose work looks before and after, and is so pregnant with significance.

English humanism emerges in Chaucer's new sense of the solidarity of life, and in his new attitude toward classic antiquity. The first count has been already touched upon and may be referred to again; we may, therefore, set it aside for the present, and concern ourselves with the second. In his first period of poetic activity Chaucer was a mediæval in all essential traits. His translation of the first part of "The Romance of the Rose" is made with full sympathy, and in the "A. B. C." and "The Boke of the Duchesse Blaunche," he has quite the fantastic unreality of his French models. But after his diplomatic missions to Italy, in 1373 and in 1378, a momentous change appears in his work. He has now, in all probability, met Petrarch, that "worthy clerk," face to face; he has read Dante and Boccaccio; and now already he begins to show traces of the new learning, as yet, of course, not the new Greek learning, but a new knowledge of, and a new attitude toward, the world of Roman letters. He tells over, with very real appreciation, the classic stories of "Troilus and Cressida" and "Palamon and Arcyte," which Boccaccio had used in his "Teseide" and in his "Filostrato." And, what is most significant, Chaucer handles these themes with some notion of classic form. Unlike the huge mediæval stories these poems have a beginning, a middle, and an end: without inquiring too curiously one can analyze them into those several parts plotted by Aristotle as the essentials of narrative and dramatic form.

About this time, too, Chaucer begins to show a new and more realizing delight in the great Roman writers. Ovid, who had borne "a charmed life in the monasteries of the middle ages," he had long known, admired, and imitated; but now he begins to give evidence of a new fondness for those more characteristic Romans, beloved of the Renaissance — Cicero and Virgil. What a pity he never knew Horace! In the "Parlement of Foules" he makes most delightful use of that charming Ciceronian fragment, preserved to the middle ages by Macrobius, the "Somnium Scipionis." In the "Legend of Good Women" he tells the story of the fourth "Æneid" very effectively, although with a strange insensibility to the ideal elements in the character of Æneas. Nevertheless the tone of all the many references to Virgil in the latter half of Chaucer's work makes it clear

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that to him the great Roman poet is beginning to lose some of that fabulous character of *magister* and prodigious enchanter which he had borne in the dark ages, and is coming to appear, as he appeared to the men of the Renaissance, a great humanist and a consummate artist.

Everywhere in Chaucer's later work we come upon passages which suggest trains of sentiment common to Roman classicism and to the Renaissance, but almost unknown in the times between. There is the idealist's dream of the "Former Age," celebrated by Virgil and Tasso; there is the elaborate picture of the various dreams of men, essentially unmediæval in its humane psychology:

> "The wery hunter slepinge in his bed,
> To wode ayein his minde goth anoon;
> The juge dremeth how his plees ben sped,
> The carter dremeth how his cartes goon;
> The riche, of gold, the knight fight with his foon
> The seke met he drinketh of the toone
> The lover met he hath his lady wonne."

But nowhere perhaps is Chaucer's changing attitude toward the world of classic art shown more clearly than in his several pictures of Venus. Chaucer's Venus is neither the Uranian Venus of classic sculpture, nor the pantheistic Venus of Lucretius' great poem, and far less is she the fierce Teutonic goddess of the mediæval Venusburg. She is far more gracious than the Venus of the Tannhauser legend. In short, she has become almost the well-known Venus of the palmy days of Renaissance art.

This view of Chaucer's relation to the Renaissance and to classic literature and art must not be pushed too far. There was still much of the wondering naïveté of the middle ages in his feeling toward the Latin classics, in place of the more fraternal admiration of the leaders of the revival of learning proper. But we may realize how great was the light which Chaucer received from the oncoming Renaissance by considering more in detail certain points in the form and in the substance of his work.

If we would feel how far away in metrical form Chaucer is from most of his contemporaries, we have but to read some lines of the helter-skelter metre of the romances, Langland's strong but unrestful alliterative lines, or "Moral Gower's" interminable see-saw of rhyme, and then to turn to the smooth, melodious harmonies of Chaucer's "rime-royal." In taking over Boccaccio's octave stanza, Chaucer, with the quick instinct of the true metrical artist, dropped a line — the fifth of the stanza — thus clinching his stanza by a couplet near the middle,

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and transferring the attention from the jingle at the end. One is inclined to agree with old Gascoigne that of all English stanzas — the Spenserian was unknown to him — the "rime-royal" is the fittest for grave discourse. No stanza could be better fitted to carry the color and splendor of imagery which distinguished that "aureate style" so admired in Chaucer by his poetic henchmen — Hoccleve, Lydgate, and Dunbar. It is startling to find coming from the slyly naive poet of the "Canterbury Tales" bursts of sensuous or solemn harmony and gorgeous description to which we can find no counterpart until the days of Elizabeth. This careful polish of varied versification and this flowery luxuriance of imagery look forward toward the art of Tasso and Spenser.

In the content of Chaucer's work the day-rim of the dawning Renaissance can be as clearly seen, nowhere better than in his handling of the ideals of chivalry and of its feeling toward women. In the characters of the worthy knight and his son, the gracefully amorous squire, Chaucer has compressed the essence of the somewhat sophisticated and showy chivalry of his time; but, notwithstanding his keen admiration for the characteristic chivalric virtues, "Trouthe, honour, fredom, and curteisye," there is one respect in which he diverges widely from the old way. He nowhere expresses the characteristic attitude toward women; he nowhere treats her as a superior being, half mighty queen and half diaphanous saint, whose imperious commands, however arbitrary and fanciful, must be obeyed at whatever cost. In "Palamon and Arcyte" he does, indeed, so manipulate his sources as to emphasize the somewhat Dantesque love of Palamon at the expense of the more human passion of Arcyte, and Palamon is made to win Emily in the end. This, however, is an exception, not the rule; his poems contain no Orianas, no Ladies of Tripoli, no Dulcinea del Tobosos.

Chaucer's notion of womankind seems to have been the fruit of his own life, as any man's is likely to be. This kind of interpretation, always dangerous, is especially risky in the present instance, because of the dubious state of the Chaucer canon, and the scant knowledge we have of his early life; but certain suggestive points may be reasonably noted. The supposed passion of his youth, which found such fanciful elaboration in his early poems, must still have been real enough to account for the tenderness with which he tells the stories of the womanly virtues of Constance and Griselda. Both of these stories were written many years before they finally

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found place in the "Canterbury Tales." Griselda, in particular, over-patient as she is under the cruel caprices of the uncontrolled will of her husband, the Duke — fanciful as Hawthorne's Wakefield in his tests of her constancy — is, nevertheless, very far from being an over-wrought allegory of patience. She was allegorized later, in the French morality-play which bears her name; but in Chaucer, although the story was a stock subject handed down to him by Petrarch, her character is treated as that of a real woman, and with very intimate sympathy.

One fancies that the warm affection which the poet shows toward her womanly charms was not altogether inspired by Mrs. Philippa Chaucer, whom one more than half suspects of being a shrew, and of furnishing some hints for the character of that *école de maris*, the Wife of Bath. One is also constrained to think that the strange, deep melancholy with which Chaucer treats the passionate and tragic story of Troilus and Cressida, like Shakespeare's unwonted bitterness in handling the same theme, suggests that the choice of this poetic subject and the tone taken in the telling were the outflow of some Marah-spring in the poet's own life.

Chaucer's occasional humorous cynicism toward women must be largely referred to the literary tradition which, in common with the French *fabliaux*, he inherited from the misogynistic Jean le Meung, the chief exponent of that revolutionary *esprit Gaullois* which revolted early from the abstract standards of chivalry. Although the literary influence of Le Meung counts for much — how much, German scholarship has lately shown — there is very evident personal feeling in the humorously cynical advice to Bukton against marriage, and an undeniable ring of sincerity when Chaucer, Dr. Donne-like, rejoices over his new-found, comfortable portliness:

> "Sin I fro love escaped am so fat
> I never think to ben in his prisoun lene."

But whatever may have been the course of his life in these matters, his final attitude toward woman is precisely that union of affection and reverence, both grounded in understanding, which has made England a nation of homes, and has given our common language that word but little known in Continental speech. Even the Wife of Bath, if we take her prologue and tale together, is a union of grotesque reality and lofty ideality as significant as "Don Quixote." Her story of the young knight, who so trusted the mind and heart

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of the ugly old woman forced upon him as a bride that she became young and beautiful in his arms, has an inwardness as profound as the second part of "Faust"—if one may guess at the meaning of that.

Chaucer clearly intended the "Legend of Good Women" to be the crowning work of his life, like Browning's "The Ring and the Book," a glorification of true womanhood. It is most to be regretted that, like so many of his poems, it was never finished. As he advanced in it the monotony of the theme seems to have wearied him: he began to take it less seriously, and his humorous bent could no longer be suppressed. But in the prologue, while still working on the higher plane, he gave us one of the most strictly poetical passages in all his works: the hymn to Alcestis, her identification in some mystic way with the daisy, and the account of his own poetic worship of the flower-like woman, the perfect type of wifely devotion.

Closely connected with Chaucer's ideas of womankind, and equally significant of his vital connection with the spiritual movements of his time, is the strain of profound human pity which runs in all his poetry. He does not possess the brooding, Virgilian sense of the *lacrimæ rerum*, neither does he, like Shakespeare, become incarnate pity and throw the anguish and heart-break of a life into a single poignant line; but he does show a ready and deep sympathy for the woes of his characters, like that of the kindest of friends.

In the "A. B. C.," his earliest poem, Chaucer's only additions to his French original are a stanza of praise to the Virgin for the pity and ruth she has for mortal miseries and another stanza of prayer to her. Throughout his work *pitous* is the commonest of words, often used with the most suggestive effect, as in that "pitous joye" when friends long-parted meet. Add to this the quaintness of the language, which affects us like the tragic prattling of a child, or a sorrowful tale in dialect, and the "Pees litel sone, I wol do thee non harm" of Constance is as truly pathetic as the story of Ugolino in Dante. But it is not such dark and terrible tragedy as that; it has rather the mellow pathos of more humane art.

The true lover of Chaucer must always rebel at the appreciation which tends to neglect the more serious aspects of his character and genius. He would not dwell upon the pious moralizing of the "Tale of Melibœus" and of the "Parson's Sermon;" he would deprecate the "Retractation" most heartily; but he would also wish to keep clearly in mind the earnest and serious forces of Chaucer's personality; and he likes to remember that in a dark age his poet could write,

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perhaps his last poem, in a strain of buoyant optimism as tonic as "The Epilogue to Asolando:

> "Forth, pilgrim, forth! Forth beste out of thy stal!
> Know thy countree, look up, thank God of al;
> Hold the hye way, and let thy gost the lede;
> And trouthe shal delivere, hit is no drede."

But it is equally uncritical to overlook the more genial and urbane aspects of his work. All in all he is the most human of our poets, always excepting Shakespeare. If his art is less profound and universal, it is perfect in its kind, and sufficiently varied in extent. The poet who could produce, in a line or in a couplet, such widely different effects as

> "Ful longe were his legges and ful lene
> Y-lyk a staf, ther was no calf y-sene,"
>
> "Up-roos the sone, and up-roos Emilye,"
>
> "The smyler with the knyf under his cloke,"

has a range of view to be found only in the uplands of literature. In fine, in its capacity for giving keen and varied enjoyment, absorbing narrative, enchanting melody, and engaging flashes of imagination and humor, Chaucer's poetry is, in the truest sense, as so many generations of Chaucerians have felt, "The world's sweet inn from pain and wearisome turmoil."

FERRIS GREENSLET.

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